

**A Comparative Analysis of Metaphorical Expressions Used by Rural and Urban
Ndebele speakers: The Contribution of S'ncamtho.**

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Abstract

This thesis explores language expansion and change through metaphorical expressions that originate with urban youth varieties. It focuses on the impact of S'ncamtho, an Ndebele-based urban youth variety of Bulawayo in Zimbabwe along the variables of rural/urban, sex, age and level of education. The thesis uses Cognitive Metaphor Theory to build on research on metaphor in urban youth varieties to answer the overarching question; how is S'ncamtho impacting Ndebele? It confirms that sex and sexuality, music and partying, love and relationships are popular themes in S'ncamtho. The thesis identifies relexicalisation and replacement of metaphoric vehicles as the main metaphor derivational strategies in S'ncamtho and confirms the existence of clearly discernible genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho which are proverbs, sayings, aphorisms and euphemistic metaphors.

While S'ncamtho and other youth varieties in Africa have been identified as urban varieties, the study brings in the dimension of measuring the spread of S'ncamtho to peri-urban and rural areas. Data from questionnaire tests, interviews and observations is analysed using the Idiom Familiarity and Comprehension Judgement Method to measure the impact and spread of S'ncamtho metaphors. The guiding theory in evaluating the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors is a Social Psychology framework- Social Impact Theory (SIT). The thesis argues that S'ncamtho metaphors spread outside Bulawayo's high density male youth to female and older Ndebele speakers in and outside the city, it identifies male youth in the age cohort 15-35 years as more familiar and using more S'ncamtho metaphors compared to females and older males in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. It also reveals that S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity declines with age and distance from Bulawayo, and that generally females use less S'ncamtho compared to males and the young are more familiar with S'ncamtho compared to adults. The research reveals that there is no significant difference between rural and urban professionals in S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and this confirms that improved communication networks impact on the spread of S'ncamtho as professional people frequent Bulawayo for pay and other services. However, the study also noted that there are still more people who have negative attitudes towards S'ncamtho, compared to those who view its impact positively. The thesis argues that the popularity of S'ncamtho has seen S'ncamtho metaphors operating in professions including journalism, health professions, teaching and religious professions. Furthermore, attitudes are changing as some people have begun to view S'ncamtho positively outside the criminal prejudices.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Table of Contents.....	3
List of figures and tables	8
Transcription, abbreviation and glossing key	11
Acknowledgements.....	13
Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION	14
1.0 Introduction	14
1.1 Statement of the problem	22
1.2 Aims of the research	22
1.2.1 Propositions	23
1.2.2 Objectives.....	23
1.2.3 Research questions	24
1.3 Justification of study	24
1.5 Structure of the thesis	26
Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	28
2.0 Introduction	28
2.1 What is youth language?.....	28
2.1.1 Categorisation of youth languages	29
2.1.2 Slang, urban vernaculars and youth languages	32
2.2 An overview of youth language research	33
2.2.1 Research on international youth varieties.....	34
2.2.2 Research on African youth languages.....	34
2.2.3 Research on Zimbabwean youth varieties.....	37
2.3 Popular themes in youth languages and linguistic innovation strategies	39
2.3.1 Popular themes in youth languages.....	39
2.3.2 Lexical innovation strategies in youth languages	40
2.4 Metaphor in youth languages.....	43
2.4.1 Cognitive Metaphor Theory	44
2.4.2 Metaphor and taboo in youth languages	46

2.4.3 African youth language and metaphor	47
2.5 Youth language dynamics	49
2.5.1 Class and youth languages	50
2.5.2 Youth varieties, identity and community of practice	51
2.5.3 Gender and youth languages	53
2.5.4 Age and youth language practices	56
2.5.5 Education and youth languages	57
2.5.6 Youth language and the 'sub-culture'	59
2.5.6.1 Association of youth languages with criminality	60
2.5.6.2 Vulgarity in youth language	61
2.5.7 Popular culture and youth languages	62
2.6 Youth language and language change	65
2.6.1 The spread of youth languages	65
2.6.1.1 The spread of youth varieties within urban populations.....	66
2.6.1.2 Urban/rural spread of youth varieties	67
2.7 Conclusion on literature review.....	68
Chapter 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	70
3.0 Introduction	70
3.1 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks	70
3.1.1 The Relational Frame Theory (RFT) in cognitive metaphor analysis.....	71
3.1.2. Conceptual framework on S'ncamtho metaphor	74
3.1.3. Social Impact Theory (SIT).....	75
3.1.4 Conceptual framework on the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors	81
3.2 Research Design and Method	83
3.3 Research sites	86
3.3.1 Urban sites	86
3.3.2 Peri-urban sites	86
3.3.3 Rural sites.....	87
3.4 Population and sampling	88

3.4.1 Sampling for identification of S'ncamtho metaphors	88
3.4.2 Sampling for the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors	89
3.4.3 Sampling for attitudes and professional usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.....	89
3.5 Research instruments	90
3.5.1 Questionnaires and questionnaire tests: appendices A and B	90
3.5.2 Interviews.....	91
3.5.3 Focus group discussions.....	91
3.5.4 Observations	92
3.5.5 Intuition.....	93
3.6 Data analysis	93
3.7 Conclusion.....	94
Chapter 4 IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERISATION OF METAPHOR IN S'NCAMTHO .	95
4.0 Introduction	95
4.1 Chapter data	95
4.2 Thematic characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphor	96
4.2.1 Summary and conclusions on thematic characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors	101
4.3 Cognitive frame and linguistic analysis of S'ncamtho metaphors	101
4.3.1 Noun-lexical metaphors in S'ncamtho	103
4.3.2 S'ncamtho verb-lexical metaphors	110
4.3.3 Phrasal metaphors in S'ncamtho	117
4.3.4 Sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho	125
4.3.5 Summary and conclusions on cognitive and linguistic analysis of S'ncamtho metaphors	131
4.4 Metaphor genre characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors	132
4.4.1 The euphemistic and argot metaphors in S'ncamtho.....	133
4.4.2 Proverbial S'ncamtho metaphors	135
4.4.3 Aphorisms in S'ncamtho	136
4.4.4 Summary and conclusions on metaphor genre characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors	137
4.5 Conclusion.....	137

Chapter 5 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON FAMILIARITY AND USAGE OF S'NCAMTHO METAPHORS	138
5.0 Introduction	138
5.1 Chapter data	138
5.2 Bulawayo high density male youth's views on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho and S'ncamtho metaphors.....	139
5.2.1 Summary on Bulawayo high density male youth's views on S'ncamtho familiarity and usage.	144
5.3 Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents' questionnaire data and observations on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors by professionals.....	145
5.3.1 Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondent questionnaire data.....	145
5.3.2 Observations on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors in professional environments	150
5.3.3 Summary on Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents and use of S'ncamtho metaphors by professionals.....	152
5.4 Questionnaire tests data on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors	153
5.4.1 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from Bulawayo urban.....	156
5.4.1.1 Summary and conclusions on urban familiarity and usage	158
5.4.2 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from peri-urban areas	158
5.4.2.1 Summary and conclusions on peri-urban familiarity and usage.....	160
5.4.3 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from rural areas.....	161
5.4.3.1 Summary and conclusions on familiarity and usage in rural sites	164
5.4.4 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from professionals.....	164
5.4.5 Summary and conclusions on familiarity and usage in professionals.....	167
5.5 Comparative analysis of the regional and demographic spread of S'ncamtho metaphors.....	167
5.5.1 Regional spread of S'ncamtho metaphors.....	167
5.5.1.1 Summary and conclusions on the regional spread of S'ncamtho metaphors	172
5.5.2 Gender dynamics in familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.....	174
5.5.2.1 Summary and conclusions on gender dynamics in familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.....	176
5.5.3 The age factor in S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage.....	178

5.5.3.1 Summary and conclusions on the age factor in S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage	179
5.6 Popularity of individual S'ncamtho metaphors	181
5.6.1 Summary and conclusions on popularity of category and individual S'ncamtho metaphors	190
5.7 Conclusion.....	192
Chapter 6 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS S'NCAMTHO AND ITS IMPACT ON NDEBELE	194
6.0 Introduction	194
6.1 Chapter data	194
6.2 Questionnaire data on attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and S'ncamtho the variety. 195	
6.2.1 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in urban sites	195
6.2.2 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in peri-urban sites	196
6.2.3 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in rural sites	198
6.2.1 Summary and conclusions on YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants	199
6.3 Attitudes and perceptions on S'ncamtho impact on Ndebele.....	201
6.3.1 Modernity motivated attitudes	201
6.3.2 Inter language and terminology development	202
6.3.3 Avoidance taboo influenced attitudes.....	202
6.3.4 Argot and criminality in S'ncamtho perceptions	203
6.3.5 S'ncamtho and respect	205
6.3.6 Perceptions based on ambiguity and over-lexicalisation in S'ncamtho	206
6.3.7 S'ncamtho impact on education	207
6.3.8 Attitudes based on Ndebele purism	208
6.3.9 Summary and conclusions on attitudes and perceptions on S'ncamtho impact on Ndebele.	209

6.4 Changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho.....	210
6.4.1 Changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho in education, churches and the media	211
6.4.2 Changing attitudes as observed on the treatment of S'ncamtho metaphors in Ndebele lexicography	213
6.4.3 Observations on changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho in the media and advertisements	216
6.4.4 Summary and conclusions on changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho	218
6.5 Conclusion.....	219
Chapter 7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	220
7.1 Conclusions	220
7.2 Recommendations	227
References.....	229
Appendices.....	258

List of figures and tables

Figure 3a: Creation of S'ncamtho metaphors from a nexus of Ndebele language and urban youth creativity	75
Table 3a: Latane (1996)'s propositions and derivations on the Dynamic Social Impact Theory	78
Figure 3b: Conceptual frame on accelerators and suppressors or moderators of S'ncamtho spread.....	82
Figure 3c: Concurrent mixed methods triangulation design.....	85
Table 3b: Peri-urban sites and their characteristics	87
Table 3c: Rural sites and their characteristics.....	87
Table 3d: Profiles for key informants	89
Table 3e: Questionnaires filled to test spread and attitudes.....	91
Table 4A1: Sex and sexuality S'ncamtho metaphors.	97
Table 4A2: Music, partying, love and friendship in S'ncamtho metaphors	98
Table 4A3: S'ncamtho metaphors on disease, death and excretion	98
Table 4A4: S'ncamtho metaphors on crime and law enforcement.....	99
Table 4A5: S'ncamtho metaphors on work, family and school	99
Table 4A6: General-talk S'ncamtho metaphors	100
Table 4b: Some noun lexical metaphors in S'ncamtho	103
Table 4c: Some S'ncamtho verb lexical metaphors	110
Table 4d: Examples of phrase metaphors in S'ncamtho	118
Table 4e: some sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho	126
Table 4f: S'ncamtho and Ndebele euphemistic and argot metaphors	133
Table 4g: Examples of S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings.....	135
Table 4h: Some aphorisms in S'ncamtho	136

Table 5.3a: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from Pumula North questionnaires	146
Table 5.3b: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from Peri-urban questionnaires	147
Table 5.3c: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from rural questionnaires	148
Table 5.3d: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors collected from questionnaires across sites	149
Table 5.3.3 Summary of additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents	152
Table 5.4a: 14 B series S'ncamtho euphemistic and argot metaphors used in familiarity and usage tests	153
Table 5.4b: 6 C series S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings used in familiarity and usage tests	154
Table 5.4c: 10 D series S'ncamtho aphorism metaphors used in familiarity and usage tests	155
Table 5.4.1a: Pumula North metaphor familiarity and usage results	156
Table 5.4.1b: Hillside metaphor familiarity and usage results	157
Table 5.4.2a: Maphisa metaphor familiarity and usage results	158
Table 5.4.2b: Lower Gwelo metaphor familiarity and usage results	159
Table 5.4.2c: Solusi metaphor familiarity and usage results	160
Table 5.4.3a: Inyathi metaphor familiarity and usage results	161
Table 5.4.3b: Brunapeg metaphor familiarity and usage results	162
Table 5.4.3c: Donsa metaphor familiarity and usage results	163
Table 5.4.4a: Familiarity and usage results from professional respondents	165
Table 5.4.4b: Familiarity and usage results from media practitioners	166
Table 5.5.1a: Combined male youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors across all eight sites	168
Table 5.5.1b: Comparison of female youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Inyathi	170
Table 5.5.1c: Comparison of male young adults' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Solusi and Donsa.	170
Table 5.5.1d: Comparison of female young adult's familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Maphisa and Brunapeg.	171
Table 5.5.1e: Comparison of adult males' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Brunapeg.	171
Table 5.5.1f: Comparison of adult females' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Brunapeg.	172
Table 5.5.1.1a: Total and average totals on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, peri-urban and rural areas	173
Figure 5.5.1: Combined percentage familiarity and usage per site	174
Table 5.5.2a: Comparison of Pumula North male and female familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors ..	175
Table 5.5.2b: Comparison of Pumula North female youth and Hillside, Solusi and Inyathi male youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors	175
Table 5.5.2c: Comparison of familiarity and usage by gender in peri-urban and rural sites of Lower Gwelo, Maphisa, Donsa and Brunapeg.	176
Figure 5.5.2.1: Combined percentage totals on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by gender	177

Table 5.5.3a: Combined metaphor familiarity and usage results between youth and adults in Pumula North, Hillside, Solusi and Brunapeg	178
Table 5.5.3b: Comparison of rural female youth and adults' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors....	179
Figure 5.5.3.1a: Combined total percentages for youth and adult familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by gender.	180
Figure 5.5.3.1b: Combined total percentages for youth and adult familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.	181
Table 5.6a: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in Bulawayo urban each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	182
Table 5.6b: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in peri-urban areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	183
Table 5.6c: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	184
Table 5.6d: Usage of individual B series metaphors in urban, peri-urban and rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	185
Table 5.6e: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in Bulawayo urban- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	186
Table 5.6f: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in peri-urban areas- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	187
Table 5.6g: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	188
Table 5.6h: Usage of individual C and D series metaphors in urban, peri-urban and rural areas- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site	189
Table 5.6.1a: Total and average familiarity of B, C and D metaphors per location.	190
Figure 5.6.1: Global familiarity and usage totals for category B, C and D metaphors.	191
Table 5.6.1b: Individual metaphors that score 80-100% familiarity and those that have less than 50% familiarity scores	191
Figure 6.2a: Urban Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance	196
Figure 6.2b: Peri-urban Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance	197
Figure 6.2c: Rural Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance.	198
Figure 6.2d: Yes/No percentage totals by region.....	199
Figure 6.2e: Yes/No percentage totals by age and sex.	200
Figure 6.2f: Yes/No percentage totals by gender.....	200
Table 6.4: S'ncamtho words in the ISN	214

Transcription, abbreviation and glossing key

Transcription key

() - indicates the source of data

‘’ - indicates English translations

5- noun class

Ziyakhipha- italics indicate non-English texts

Njayami- bold words indicate the usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

Location- refers to urban high density area

B- euphemistic metaphors

C- proverbs and sayings

D- aphorisms

F- familiarity

U- usage

M- male

FL- female

Y- youth

YA- young adult

AD- adult

Glossing key

Source languages

AFK- Afrikaans

ENG- English

ND- Ndebele

Abbreviations

AUYL- African Urban Youth Language

DSIT- Dynamic Social Impact Theory

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

ISN- Isichazamazwi sesiNdebele

RFT- Relational Frame Theory

SCPG- Street Corner Peer Groups

SIT- Social Impact Theory

YL- Youth Language

Category labels

APPL- applicative

BEN- beneficiary
FV- final vowel
N- noun
NEG- negation
NS- noun stem
OC- object concord
PASS- passive
PN- pronoun
POSS- possessive
RCP- reciprocal
SC- subject concord
VB- verb
VR- verb root

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Youth language practices have been described across the world, and the common thread is that urban youth varieties are marked as criminal argots, and their origins are often traced to prison argots. Halliday (1976) describes urban youth varieties as anti-languages because he associates them with subcultures. In America, Dalzell (2010) associates black urban varieties with slavery and social resistance movements; this association of urban varieties with the subculture and resistance has created suspicions and negative attitudes towards youth varieties such as S'ncamtho. This thesis explores a shift from criminalising youth varieties because the claim to criminal origins is itself doubtful (Hurst 2015), and treats them as social dialects that can be characterised in terms of vocabulary elements such as metaphor, and which are expanding their domains of use and impacting standard and vernacular forms. The case in point is metaphor characterisation in S'ncamtho - an Ndebele-based urban youth variety - and its impact on the Ndebele language and population in Zimbabwe. The focus is on metaphors because they are one of the primary features of youth language (Kiessling and Mous 2004).

Research on African youth varieties has developed a positive attitude towards these varieties, and Kiessling and Mous (2004) argue that these are languages, as their linguistic material deviates from the base languages. However, other researchers have contested the language status of these varieties. Horne (2010) associates them with slang and calls them *slanguages*, while Hurst and Mesthrie (2013) describe the varieties according to youth and urban style and call them *stylects*. In this study S'ncamtho is treated as a youth sociolect that utilises Ndebele grammar and lexis to create stylised and contemporary metaphors.

Ndebele is an Nguni language spoken in Zimbabwe, particularly similar to Zulu due to a common past and continued contact, and this contact accounts for the similarities between S'ncamtho and the Zulu-based youth variety iScamtho. The Ndebele of Zimbabwe cannot be defined univocally as the concept has over the years evolved to include many ethnicities and socio-political organisations. However, the language which functions as the matrix language for S'ncamtho has been characterised and classified and has been allocated functions in Zimbabwe. Khumalo (2004: 107) traces the Ndebele back to the Zulu kingdom in present-day South Africa from where they originated in the 1820s. Ndlovu (2013:295) notes that 'The Ndebele were a militant group from Zululand, which raided other groups for survival, as was the norm in the close of the 19th century in

Southern Africa'. The Mfecane period saw the Ntungwa now Ndebele move up north, finally settling in present day Zimbabwe. The Mfecane period divided the Zulu and the Ndebele. Eldredge (1992:1) avers that:

During the 1820s the entire region of Southern Africa was affected directly or indirectly by tremendous demographic upheaval and revolutionary social and political change. The period was marked by massive migrations, sporadic raids and battles and frequent periods of privation and famine for many people in the region.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) and Ndlovu (2013) argue that Mzilikazi left Zululand to avoid conflict with Shaka and finally settled in present day Zimbabwe. Ransford (1967:56) says: 'In 1870 Lobengula became king of the Matabele and established a new capital, Bulawayo which was the seat of power for the centralised state that covered the whole of what is now called Zimbabwe'. When the Ndebele settled in Zimbabwe they created an inclusive state on which a united Zimbabwe was founded. Mlambo (2014:28) argues that what became the political Ndebele state comprised an amalgam of ethnic groups. Omer-Cooper (1966:151) points out that both Mzilikazi and Lobengula adopted Shona culture from the Mambo people who became the kings' prophets and their shrines were adopted into Ndebele religion. Ndebele exhibits borrowings from Shona which continues to be a contact language up to the present day.

Zulu and South African youth and urban varieties also continue to influence Ndebele and S'ncamtho. Ndebele people have always crossed the border to work in South Africa especially in the mines where they met with their Zulu counterparts and the languages developed together. Since the end of apartheid, South African authorities face challenges in delivering services to the population and this has created tensions between locals and migrant workers among other problems resulting in xenophobia and deportations. The deportations and xenophobic attacks have created a huge number of male youth in Bulawayo who are Johannesburg returnees and have adopted the Johannesburg youth variety iScamtho.

Ndebele is classified by Guthrie in zone 40 group S. Other languages classed in the Nguni cluster include Zulu, Xhosa, Southern Ndebele and Swati. According to Guthrie (1967) Nguni languages are classified as follows; S41- Xhosa, S42- Zulu, S43- Swati and S44- Ndebele. Cope (1993:163) compares Guthrie's (1967) and Doke's (1954) classifications and characterisations of Ndebele and notes that Guthrie regards Zimbabwean Ndebele as a separate language while Doke treats it as a Zulu dialect. Hachipola (1998:4) avers Zulu and Ndebele are mutually intelligible and share over 96% of lexicon. Hadebe (2002:27) notes that: 'the teaching of Ndebele language has relied mainly on Zulu texts be it poetry, literature, culture, linguistics or

lexicography. Consequently, Ndebele has to some extent adopted some aspects of Zulu orthography and terminology.’

Ndebele has been in close contact with other Zimbabwean languages such as Venda, Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Tswana, Nambya and Shona. The Ndebele writing system was developed by white missionaries who had developed Zulu orthography prior. Ndlovu (2016) argues that the original Ndebele orthography was developed by White missionaries and is usually referred to using the names of the missionaries who developed it. The Sykes/Moffat alphabet was officially adopted in April 1862 (Hadebe, 2002: 55). Today Ndebele is spoken by about 30% of the Zimbabwean population in the central, southern and western parts of the country¹. According to Mabuto and Ndlovu (2014) Ndebele is used on television and radio, is studied as a subject up to university level in Zimbabwe and is used as a medium of instruction at primary school level as guided by the Zimbabwe Education Act of 1987. Hadebe (2002:36) avers that Ndebele varies, and that there is Ndebele for the media, and notable differences between urban and rural Ndebele, but he quickly hazards that the differences do not create dialects as they are caused mainly by interference from contact languages. This thesis argues that the Ndebele language, like other African languages, faces forces of change from urban youth varieties.

S’ncamtho has been increasing in popularity, and this research posits that this has impacted Ndebele. There are some S'ncamtho metaphors that are so popular they cannot be considered slang. Zuckermann, (2003:21) avers:

One method of distinguishing between a slangism and a colloquialism is to ask whether most native speakers know the word and use it; if they do, it is a colloquialism. A slang is a private group code while a colloquialism is that manner of speaking that though informal has spread to the whole language of the area, examples of colloquialism are the contractions in English such as ‘hi’ for a greeting and ‘they’re’ for they are.

As the number of S'ncamtho speakers has increased, the influence of S’ncamtho on both spoken and written Ndebele language across regional and social boundaries is worth investigating. Veit-Wild (2009) states that slang terms are popular in Zimbabwe and there is a creative energy that arises from the mix of languages in her analysis of *Zimboldicious*, an innovative youth language in Zimbabwe. There have been studies on the spread of domains of use in African youth sociolects to domains such as the media, social media and education

¹Zimbabwe Demographics Profile 2018 Available :https://www.indexmundi.com/zimbabwe/demographics_profile.html [2018, July 10]

(McLaughlin 2009, Kioko 2015, Hurst-Harosh and Kanana-Erastus 2018). This study builds on to previous research by investigating the age, sex and regional dynamics in the expansion of youth language domains of use.

This research employs Cognitive Metaphor Theory to characterise metaphors within the variety, under the assumption that, what is seen and done by people develops their language. Chinweizu et al. (1980), point out that ‘the historical circumstances that presently compels people to use language the way they do, need to be changed before language is changed’. This emphasises the fact that when people’s experiences change, their language inevitably changes too, and the urban environment has shaped S'ncamtho metaphors. The thesis further frames the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors and the variety itself on a social psychology model -Social Impact Theory - and the impact S'ncamtho has on Ndebele is centred around the urban youth’s social impact as guided by their immediacy, number and power (Latane 1996, Nettle 1999, Aronson, Wilson and Akert 2007).

The study investigates popular themes on and for which S'ncamtho metaphoric expressions are created. It seeks to discern genres of metaphor within S'ncamtho, and further investigates their influence on the Ndebele language. While research has been done to describe youth varieties and their practices, it is not clear whether these varieties have clearly discernable genres of metaphoric expressions and, if any, do speakers of standard languages borrow these youth variety metaphoric expressions? Metaphor is chosen for the study because it dominates vocabularies of youth sociolects (Halliday 1976, Kiessling and Mous 2004, Hurst 2014). Cognitive metaphor theories as espoused by (Lakoff 1993, Gentner 1998, Murphy 1996) are used as methods in identifying, analysing and characterising metaphor in the study.

This study explores language expansion and change through proverbs, euphemisms, aphorisms and sayings that originate with youth varieties. The research measures the spread of S'ncamtho to peri-urban and rural areas outside Bulawayo and it employs both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analyse the data. The spread is measured along the variables of age, sex and level of education. The last part of the research is an evaluation of attitudes towards S'ncamtho focusing especially on whether attitudes are changing to accommodate S'ncamtho. Through this mixed method analysis of the different sets of data, the thesis investigates the impact of S'ncamtho on Ndebele language and speakers. This contributes to current debates regarding the impact of urban youth languages in Africa.

Research in sociolinguistics and sociology of language navigates sociological and anthropological phenomena.

This research is affected and influenced by sociological concepts that affect the youth. Key concepts in youth language research include the categorisation and delimitation of youth and the debates on the youth adult dichotomy. The concept of modernity runs through discourses on urban youth varieties and it needs to be defined in the context of this study. Modernity is linked to the rural/urban dichotomy and the concepts urban, rural and peri-urban are defined for this study. The key vocabulary element used in the study is metaphor and this section also defines metaphor.

The definition of youth includes creation of age cohorts that are biologically, socially and psychologically fit to be defined as youth. Uduakosu (2014) notes that what the United Nations (UN) defines as youth is actually teenage-cum-adolescent age group of young people between the ages of 15 -24 years. He argues that this age limit does not capture the entire active youth demographic, as in most African countries, and some other continents the youth bracket stretches up to 35 years. On the other hand, the UN human habitat report defines youths as young people between the ages of 15-32 years. He further notes that the United States Initiative for Young African Leaders (YALI) understands the definition of ‘youth’ in the African context to rise up to 35 years, as the programme accepts young people within the age limit of 25 - 35 years across Africa. According to the UN, youth is best understood as a period of transition from the dependency of childhood to adulthood’s independence.

The African Union in its African Youth Charter of 2006² recognises as youth, people in the age cohort of 15-35 years. The Zimbabwe Youth Policy of (2000) defines youth as the age bracket 10-30 years, however, it notes that the bracket is too big and the needs of different age groups within the youth bracket are different. The definition and categorisation of youth is not fixed and appears to depend on the purpose of categorisation. This research categorises youth as the age cohort between 15 and 25 years as guided by the UN definition because in Zimbabwe people above 25 years are generally part of the working class, however, the age cohort of 25-37 is categorised as the intermediate group called young adults because they are still active in youthful activities that affect language use such as popular culture.

Evidence from literature and the data reveal that youth languages are tied to the concept of modernity and are seen as modern languages. Metaphors operating within them are conceptualised as modern metaphors. However, it is difficult to ascribe a specific definition to the concept ‘modern’, as it involves such dichotomies

²Available: https://www.google.com/search?ei=h0kzW6vYEMiegAa8mbX4Cg&q=zimbabwe+youth+policy+2000&oq=zimbabwe+youth+policy+2000&gs_l=psy [2016, September 5].

as western/African, civilised/backwards, modern/traditional and rural/urban. In defining modernity, the Encyclopaedia Britannica online states:

More specifically, modernity was associated with individual subjectivity, scientific explanation and rationalisation, a decline in emphasis on religious worldviews, the emergence of bureaucracy, rapid urbanisation, the rise of nation-states, and accelerated financial exchange and communication. There is little consensus as to when modernity began. Histories of Western Europe suggest that a modern era arrived at the end of colonial invasion and global expansion, which date to the 18th and early 19th centuries. In general, modernity was exemplified by the period subsequent to the onset of modern warfare, typified by two world wars and succeeded by postmodernism.³

Relating modernity to colonialism and urbanisation is a definition that is relevant in the understanding of the social and material dynamics that shape youth varieties such as S'ncamtho. Modernity created and continues to create platforms and machinery that enhances communication and this affects the spread of youth varieties. The Online Business Dictionary expands the idea of modernity to include capitalism, social classes, patterned life, urbanisation, gender equality discourses, standard education, sexual freedom and pervasive use of technology:

Characteristics of modern (post Second World War) societies that have capitalistic economies and democratic political structures, and are highly industrialised and divided into social classes based on economic status. These characteristics include regular pattern of everyday life, urbanisation, and influx of women at all levels of employment and business, secular outlook, sexual freedom, sharp reduction in birth rate and death rate, centralised bureaucratic government, standardised education system, and pervasive use of technology specially in communications.⁴

Characteristics of the modern life have changed the life systems in Zimbabwe and youth varieties are more pronounced in areas where modern characteristics are concentrated such as urban centres. Other social movements and improvements in the modern era affect the use and spread of youth sociolects directly. Movements and technology also create new concepts that are used as vehicles in youth variety metaphors. Modern gender movements have seen women taking active parts in social practices such as youth languages.

Urbanity is a concept in modernity that cannot be fully defined if not juxtaposed to the opposing concept of rural. In this research, S'ncamtho is traced from an urban area, which is a physical location with features of

³Available: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/modernity> [2017, August 10]

⁴Available: <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/modernity.html> [2017, August 10]

modernity such as schooling, media, gender movements, popular culture. Finally, this study traces S'ncamtho spread through the mediums of modernity to less modern locations in peri-urban and rural areas. Williams, Brunn and Darden (1983: 5) define urbanisation as a:

Process involving two phases or aspects: i) the movement of people from rural to urban places where they engage primarily in non-rural functions or occupations; and ii) the change in life style from rural to urban with its associated values, attitudes and behaviours. The important variables in the former are population density and economic functions; the important variables of the latter depend on social, psychological and behavioural factors. The two aspects are mutually supportive.

It has been noted that the movements are not one directional, as people move from urban to rural and the movements are circular (Hurst 2017). Both urban and rural areas are not homogenous concepts and the dichotomy has limitations. The concept of peri-urban arose from the limitations in defining urban and rural. Hewitt (1989) argues that rural itself is not a single category but a complex continuum. Rural exists along a continuum which has ranges of *ruralness* from more rural to less rural, and varies extensively based on the following factors: 1) proximity to a central place, 2) community size, 3) population density, 4) total population, and 5) economic/socio-economic factors. The degrees of *urbaness* and *ruralness* are important concepts in this study, as they pose different conditions for S'ncamtho. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in its report on peri-urban agriculture (OECD, 1979: 10) states that:

The term "peri-urban area", cannot be easily defined or delimited through unambiguous criteria. It is a name given to the grey area which is neither entirely urban nor purely rural in the traditional sense; it is at most the partly urbanised rural area. Whatever definition may be given to it, it cannot eliminate some degree of arbitrariness.

Drescher and Iaquina (1999), note that in the urban/rural continuum there are some rural places with urban consciousness. Peri urban is understood in urban geography as referring to areas adjacent to an urban centre but there is a category of areas that are geographically not close to an urban area, yet experience substantial urbanism. The extension of urbanism is through mass media and the diffusion of consumerist ideologies and circular urban to rural movements. The spread of urbanism coincides with the spread of youth varieties and they also spread their domains of use to the mediums of expression and communication that carry them.

Metaphor is the vocabulary element of S'ncamtho that is used to test the spread of the youth sociolect to wider domains and to peoples and places. Cruse (2000:112) reasons that: 'most youth languages reveal numerous examples of metaphoric speech which can be understood as a figurative connection between two concepts

based on a certain resemblance'. The definition of metaphor fits into the majority of lexemes in youth varieties and this is the reason why metaphor is chosen for characterisation and use as an instrument to measure S'ncamtho spread, metaphor is defined as:

A figure of speech which makes an implicit, implied or hidden comparison between two things that are unrelated but share some common characteristics. In other words, a resemblance of two contradictory or different objects is made based on a single or some common characteristics. In simple English, when you portray a person, place, thing, or an action as being something else, even though it is not actually that "something else," you are speaking metaphorically. "He is the black sheep of the family" is a metaphor because he is not a sheep and is not even black. However, we can use this comparison to describe an association of a black sheep with that person. A black sheep is an unusual animal and typically stays away from the herd, and the person you are describing shares similar characteristics.⁵

Youth varieties are created mainly using metaphor, and this generates youth variety proverbs and sayings. Gombe (1995) argues that proverbs are distilled words of wisdom handed down from one generation to another. A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorisable form and which is handed down from generation to generation (Mieder 1993). Although many proverbs are ancient, they are all created by a person. The research seeks to identify the S'ncamtho proverbs, if any, and evaluate their influence in Ndebele proverbial language change.

The tendency in urban youth varieties is to replace old vehicles with new ones for the same tenor in creating metaphoric expressions. There are some idiomatic expressions that do not conform to proverb definition and these are general sayings. Youth varieties are said to be metaphor languages because of the abundance of these general sayings. Metaphorical expressions are what Pongweni (1989: x) terms 'analogical imagination'. Pongweni uses this concept to describe figurative devices in language such as proverbs, metaphors, similes and idiophones. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011: 162) describe the 'traditional understanding of metaphor as a rhetorical figure and thus as a tool for the skilful use of language'. Gentner (1983: 156) views proverbs and sayings as analogical mappings that depend on feature overlap, and this is common in youth varieties.

Youth languages are common in urban centres especially with male youth, and the association of youth varieties with criminality is confirmed by the definition of tsotsitaal in English dictionaries. The Collins

⁵Available: <https://literarydevices.net/metaphor/> [2017, August 10]

English Dictionary online defines *tsotsitaal* as: ‘a type of street slang used by *tsotsis* in South Africa’. The dictionary further gives the origins of the word as combining Nguni *tsotsi*/thug + Afrikaans *taal*/language⁶. Mesthrie (2008) argues for broad similarities in these sub varieties in South Africa. For this reason, he suggests the term ‘*tsotsitaals*’, in lower case, to refer to all South African varieties. Since Zimbabwean youth languages are not dissimilar from the South African phenomena, this research uses the same term to refer broadly to Zimbabwean varieties.

1.1 Statement of the problem

S’ncamtho as an urban youth language appears to have spread out of Bulawayo and may be impacting on the standard and vernacular forms of Ndebele; to language purists it is causing undesired Ndebele language change and loss. This language change may impact on lexicon and community discourse features such as metaphors or idioms. The changes brought about through S’ncamtho appear to be changing language usage in domains of social interaction such as the media, education, religion and various professions. The expanding domains in S’ncamtho usage may be impacting human social interactions in language contact and practices in the dichotomies of urban/rural, youth/adult, conventional/nonconventional and male/female. The common associations of youth varieties with criminality and secrecy appear to be at the centre of controversies that involve acceptance and tolerance of S’ncamtho in both urban and rural Ndebele speaking areas. The controversies surrounding S’ncamtho acceptance and use may be easing as the youth are becoming important in society through their association with publicised and celebrated practices such as music, movies and their language being used in the media and advertising. Metaphor is central to S’ncamtho and the use of metaphors can be analysed to understand the impact of S’ncamtho on Ndebele.

1.2 Aims of the research

The study aims at characterising S’ncamtho metaphor and investigating the influence of S’ncamtho and its metaphorical expressions among Ndebele speakers. The comparison of the spread of S’ncamtho is along the dimensions of; rural-urban, youth-adult and male-female. This research investigates the changes in metaphoric vehicles used to formulate idiomatic expressions by the Ndebele location male youth and whether these find their way into the Ndebele language across ages, sex, space and contexts. The research also investigates the expanding domains of use of S’ncamtho through identifying S’ncamtho metaphors that are used by the

⁶Available: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/tsotsitaal> [2017, August 10]

Ndebele population in social institutions and the business world. The study evaluates the use of S'ncamtho by professionals who operate in public domains which are; teachers, nurses, pastors and media practitioners. The research furthermore investigates attitudes towards S'ncamtho amongst Ndebele speakers.

1.2.1 Propositions

The data is used to test the following qualitative propositions:

- Modernity leads to a change in metaphoric vehicles and there are innovative ways of metaphor creation in youth sociolects.
- Due to decreased separation between urban and rural contexts, urban youth language expressions now spread quickly from urban to rural contexts.
- S'ncamtho is more prevalent amongst urban male youths.
- S'ncamtho impacts on Ndebele by; 1) creating metaphors for urban vernacular Ndebele that spread to rural Ndebele, 2) increasing its domains of use to previously exclusively Ndebele domains such as the media, education, standardisation and professions, 3) expanding its community of practice to persons previously believed to be outside the community of use such as females, adults and rural populations, 4) changing attitudes that accommodate S'ncamtho as the variety of expressive communication because of its association with youth iconography and modernity.

1.2.2 Objectives

The objectives of the research were:

- To collect S'ncamtho proverbs, sayings, euphemisms, and aphorisms for thematic and linguistic analysis for purposes of identifying popular themes, structures and genres, in a bid to answer the question on metaphor themes, structures and genres in S'ncamtho.
- To knowledge test the collected expressions on different Ndebele population samples in order to determine the extent of the impact of S'ncamtho metaphors on Ndebele along the variables of age, sex, class and region. This objective answers the question of the spread of S'ncamtho beyond urban township male youth.
- To evaluate population attitudes towards the expressions analysed by demographics of age, gender and location. The evaluation of attitudes is aimed at gauging the acceptability of S'ncamtho especially by public professionals such as teachers, nurses, pastors and media

practitioners, in order to answer the question on population attitudes towards S'ncamtho.

1.2.3 Research questions

The main, over-arching question that justifies the research is:

- How is S'ncamtho impacting Ndebele?

The other sub questions to the main question of the study are:

- What are the popular themes in S'ncamtho metaphors, does S'ncamtho have clearly discernible genres of metaphoric expressions and how are they created?
- Do S'ncamtho metaphors spread beyond Bulawayo's location male youth, which S'ncamtho metaphors are most popular, and is the spread differentiated by population demographics, such as age, gender, profession and class?
- How does the population of Ndebele speakers view the use of S'ncamtho metaphorical expressions?

1.3 Justification of study

The main justification for the research is that it evaluates the influence of urban youth languages on standard forms and also seeks to evaluate the attitudes towards this type of change. S'ncamtho has created controversies in education and the media in Zimbabwe because there is little research on its influence on Ndebele and the boundaries have not been drawn.

In the Zimbabwean context, research in youth varieties and their impact is still at its initial stages compared to other countries such as Kenya and South Africa (Hollington and Makwavarara 2015). Youth sociolects in urban areas have been proven to impact standard forms. The influence of youth varieties on standard forms is exemplified by Kioko (2015:101) who reasons thus:

Although earlier understood as a dirty slang spoken by *Matatu Manambas* (public transport touts), drug peddlers, local Hip Hop musicians, school drop-outs, and other related categories of peoples and jobs, Sheng has rapidly permeated the formal social, political, and economic fabrics to become a language of the masses.

This study focuses on such impact in Zimbabwe where it has not been extensively investigated. The study investigates the influence of S'ncamtho on standard Ndebele forms through investigating the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors into standard Ndebele. The study is motivated by an earlier study by the author Ndlovu (2012), where he considers the influence of S'ncamtho in Ndebele idiomatic language change; however, this study differs in that it seeks to measure the influence in terms of age, gender and distance from Bulawayo urban, in order to understand how S'ncamtho might be impacting on Ndebele language and speakers.

The impact and spread of youth varieties in Africa has divided scholarship on the subject as some view them as ephemeral and transitory slang while others argue that some of these varieties now have mother tongue speakers. Youth sociolects are spreading their domains of use and entering into previously standard and vernacular domains. This study is important as it seeks to evaluate the impact of S'ncamtho on domains and professions that involve adults and females. Dodo (2015) shows that Nouchi is spoken in the key social areas of Abidjan: schools and universities, markets, transport and leisure facilities. The areas where the informants claim to have started speaking Nouchi and continue to speak Nouchi are, in descending order, during meetings among friends, at school (grammar schools, secondary schools, and university), in work places, and within the family. A similar trend is developing with S'ncamtho and this study identifies and evaluates the impact.

Research on youth varieties has concentrated on describing the varieties and practices associated with these varieties and there is a gap in the literature on the spread of these varieties to environs outside high density urban settlements in Africa. According to Namyalo (2010:3): 'increasing rural urban migration in search of a better life and opportunities has resulted in the development of urban centres with linguistically complex populations' and these are the contexts which have been emphasised in studies on African youth languages. Yet Karanja (2010) has noted a shift in Kenyan Sheng whereby it is no longer an exclusively urban youth practice but has evolved to a shifting and fluid practice that transcends urbanity. The spread of youth varieties to rural areas is a new trend in African youth language research and this research builds on to this emerging research tradition. The spread of youth varieties can also be linked to their use in the media and cyber space. Hollington and Nassenstein (2015: 352) note the following gap in youth language research: 'youth language practices in digital spaces are still largely unstudied and thus comprise a huge new field that offers a broad range of possible research projects'. Githiora (2002) has also suggested that the role of Sheng in the media should be given urgent attention. This research gives attention to S'ncamtho in the digital space and the media as these are proposed agents for the spread of S'ncamtho.

Metaphor in youth varieties has been analysed primarily as a lexicalising strategy (Mugaddam 2015) and little

has been done to characterise metaphor genres in youth sociolects. While there has been some research on youth varieties and metaphor (Hurst 2016) this research is a step towards the characterisation of metaphor in youth varieties. Such a characterisation can be used to justify youth varieties as stabilising sociolects; a phenomenon that has been observed in Kenya's Sheng and South African Tsotsitaal. The focus on metaphor is also significant for understanding taboo language and euphemism. The study evaluates the creation and use of S'ncamtho euphemisms, their relation to Ndebele avoidance language, and how youth, adults, males and females feel about S'ncamtho euphemisms.

The research is central to Ndebele language corpus planning as it evaluates S'ncamtho spread and impact on Ndebele and suggests recommendations to language planners, educationists, lexicographers and the population of Ndebele speakers which is impacted by S'ncamtho. The research identifies popular S'ncamtho metaphors and may help in incorporating some of these into Ndebele for ease of communication and avoidance of taboos. The Ndebele dictionary has already included some S'ncamtho metaphors, although it faced some criticism from conservatives and language purists. This study avers that it is the character of all vocabulary to be transitory, having a range of synonyms. It encourages lexicographers to concentrate on user needs more than their interpretations of what slang is and what is popular and enduring vocabulary.

S'ncamtho like other youth varieties in Africa has been receiving and continues to receive negative attitudes from the population. This research is central in answering the questions of attitude as it seeks to probe the reasons why some people have negative attitudes towards S'ncamtho. This study further identifies the changing attitudes in S'ncamtho conception and this is important as people deal with language variation best if they know the varieties that affect them.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The research starts by identifying S'ncamtho metaphors which are later characterised by theme, linguistically and by genre. The characterised metaphors are tested for familiarity and usage, and lastly the research considers attitudes towards S'ncamtho. Chapter one introduces the thesis and gives the statement of the problem that motivates the research. It further describes the aims, assumptions, objectives and the research questions answered in the thesis. Chapter one also provides the justification for the research and a brief research methodology.

Chapter two is a review of related literature, it defines youth varieties and traces youth varieties from cockney slang in Europe through to literature on youth varieties in Zimbabwe. Chapter two explores literature on youth language practices and their impact on language change, especially metaphorical language change; the chapter furthermore identifies the gaps in literature, which includes the characterisation of metaphor genres in youth languages, an evaluation of their urban to rural spread and their impact on standard languages.

Chapter three introduces the research methodology and theories that frame the thesis. The chapter starts by outlining Cognitive Metaphor Theory and how it helps in defining and characterising S'ncamtho metaphors, and the conceptual frameworks on metaphor comprehension and spread. It then moves on to the theoretical frame for the spread of S'ncamtho, which is Social Impact Theory. Chapter three also describes the triangulated methodology used in the thesis, and discusses the specific locations where data was collected and tested and the research instruments used in the study.

Chapter four is dedicated to characterising S'ncamtho according to popular themes, linguistically, and by its metaphor genres and it answers the question whether S'ncamtho has clearly discernible metaphor genres. The chapter also includes Cognitive Metaphor Analysis through cross domain structure mappings.

Chapter five and six apply Social Impact Theory to measure the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors along the variables of region, gender, age and level of education. Chapter five measures S'ncamtho familiarity and usage using idiom tests, and chapter six deals with attitudes towards S'ncamtho including changing attitudes as exhibited in the media, adverts, professions and lexicographic works. Chapter seven presents the conclusions from data analysis and recommendations for further research areas.

Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

There is considerable literature on youth varieties and youth language practices and dynamics from across the globe starting from Europe where early literature is found. It would appear that the spread of European civilisation through colonialism can be argued to account partly for the spread of urban youth varieties to areas such as America and Africa (Maurer 1944). This chapter focuses on literature that has explored aspects of urban youth varieties and related phenomena such as urban vernaculars and *slangisms*. The chapter starts by reviewing literature that has tried to define and categorise youth and urban language practices and an overview of global, African and Zimbabwean research on youth varieties. This chapter prioritises literature that has dealt with dynamics of youth varieties such as; gender, age, popular culture, education and criminality. Youth varieties and slang are predominantly created by utilising metaphor (Halliday 1976), therefore literature on metaphor and its operation within youth varieties is also the focus of this chapter.

2.1 What is youth language?

This research takes the position that youth languages are social dialects and occur within a matrix language whose grammar they utilise and are based on. S'ncamtho is a sociolect of Ndebele, it employs Ndebele grammar and the variations are more pronounced in the lexicon. Hurst and Mesthrie (2013) in their study of Xhosa-based tsotsitaals reveal that the grammar of the base language does not change, but the change manifests in relexicalisation. Momanyi (2009:131) makes a similar observation on Sheng, the Kenyan youth variety: 'Sheng is based primarily on Kiswahili structure. It uses Kiswahili grammar with lexicon drawn from Kiswahili, English and the various ethnic languages mostly spoken in big towns.' Mesthrie and Hurst (2013) argue that the base language contributes mainly the syntax to the urban youth language. There is emerging literature which shows that these varieties can shift base languages (Hurst 2017).

One of the greatest questions in urban youth language practice research borders on the language status of these varieties (Hollington and Makwavarara 2015). Youth varieties are at various stages of development and spread and this creates a problem in categorising them under one terminology. Halliday (1976), working on Polish and Indian youth varieties, argues that these are not languages as they cannot be classified socially and linguistically as languages. He argues for the term anti-language because they stem from an anti-culture

perspective, which is an anti-society and seeks alternatives from the mainstream society. The term anti-language has been applied by other researchers such as Kiessling and Mous (2004) and Hurst and Mesthrie (2013) to African Youth Languages (AYL), however, links to the sub-culture are doubtful (Hurst 2015). Youth varieties across the world have posed a challenge of categorisation and differentiation and this section identifies categories that best describe S'ncamtho and how it relates to other urban language dynamics such as urban slang and urban vernaculars.

2.1.1 Categorisation of youth languages

Categorising and ascribing terminology to language varieties has always been problematic. Zwicky and Zwicky (1982:213) state that: 'anyone who wants to talk about the many varieties of a language is immediately faced with severe problems, the initial manifestations of which are largely terminological'. Lewandowski (2010:60) alludes to the fact that social varieties are in disarray because they are in flux and the disarray is manifest in the co-occurrence of such concepts as: 'variant, (social) variety, (social) dialect, special language, style, code, sublanguage, slang, cant, argot, jargon'. Youth varieties are not homogenous in the societies where they operate; they are at various stages of development and spread, and the various stages warrant different categorisations.

Categories that directly link youth varieties to criminality and secrecy are the first categories that do not fit into the description of S'ncamtho. For example, argot is identified by Partridge (1933) as merely French for slang, yet Johnson et al (2005:46) in their study of the New York Marijuana subculture's language argue that:

Argot terms are created and spread by subculture participants. Argot also delineates important distinctions within and helps organise how the marijuana subculture structures use practices, networks and markets. Argot maintains boundaries with other drug subcultures. The dynamic use of argot constitutes a communication system widely understood among marijuana subculture participants, yet is largely hidden from mainstream culture.

S'ncamtho is not a code restricted to criminal activities as the data shows that it has expanded its domains of use and some of its elements are used in churches and by professionals. It is also un-coded and there are no efforts to code it, seeing it is used in public domains such as music. For this reason, S'ncamtho cannot fit within the definition of argot, nor other sub-culture tags such as cant, jargon, sublanguage, and anti-language.

In their study of African urban youth languages, Kiessling and Mous (2004:303) argue: 'In all these cases, the

linguistic material that is deviant from the base language is so different and so extensively used that the outcome is incomprehensible to the uninitiated. In this respect, we feel justified in using the term ‘language’ for these sociolects.’ What is of interest to this research is that the authors identify youth varieties as sociolects, a claim to the social dialect status of these varieties. While not much research has been done on S'ncamtho to make claims for its language status it does not operate in all domains like a language and to accord it language status can only be a metalinguistic label. Nassenstein and Hollington (2015: 6) prefer the term ‘practices’ to ‘languages’ in describing the use of these phenomena; but they suggest that the term African Youth Language as a metalinguistic label is nevertheless a useful one. This is because these phenomena have often received names or linguistic identities, although they do not fit fully in the definition of language.

Some African youth varieties can be called languages as they have mother tongue speakers, even if they do not meet the linguistic requirements of a language. There are no claims to the existence of mother tongue speakers of S'ncamtho so far and to characterise it as a language can be problematic. However, for some AYLS, such as Sheng in Nairobi and Tsotsitaal in Johannesburg, which are claimed to have mother tongue speakers the term language can be used. Kioko (2015) identifies first language speakers of Sheng in Kenya by noting that the massive rural to urban migration has seen more youths growing up in urban centres where they lose their ethnic mother tongues and use Swahili-based Sheng as their mother tongue. If the claims to mother tongue status are substantiated, then the use of language as a metalinguistic label in the case of Sheng for example could be appropriate.

The problems associated with ascribing language status to youth varieties have led some to look at them as registers. Mesthrie (2014) calls youth varieties registers while Mesthrie and Hurst (2013) refer to these practices as style (which is closely related to register) and they propose the term *stylect*. According to Mesthrie and Hurst (2013) tsotsitaal is a highly stylised slang register of an urban vernacular. Hurst (2017:211) avers that: ‘African urban youth languages can be conceptualised not as languages, but rather practices, styles or registers, used by youth within the context of African cities’. However, the varieties appear to be extending beyond the context of African cities to other social contexts such as rural and peri-urban. S'ncamtho is performed through stylising Ndebele vocabulary and lexis from source languages. Part of the S'ncamtho community of practice combines linguistic stylising with other extra-linguistic styling such as fashion. S'ncamtho can be characterised as an Ndebele informal register or style as both register and style may relate to the formality index of language usage.

Coupland (2007) argues that style and stylisation in language is the way that speakers change the way they speak depending on context. He refers to it as performed discursive practice, and he views style as how speakers utilise language variation to construct meaning in social encounters. Stylelect (Hurst and Mesthrie 2013) as a term is based on this definition. Style and register are the same in linguistic theory because they relate to language variation according to use and context. While register and style can be appropriate in characterising youth varieties in Africa the terms may fall short in accommodating youth language dynamics such as identity formation and agency. Some youth language identities such as those linked to Tsotsitaal and Sheng cannot be entirely contextual as there are claims to mother tongue speakers, therefore the term youth sociolect may cater for the mother tongue claims in some youth varieties.

The fact that AYLS have been viewed and continue to be viewed as varieties of their matrix languages associates them with social dialect rather than register. Solano-Flores (2006:2357) avers: 'whereas dialect refers to a variation of a language that is characteristic of the users of that language, register refers to a variation of a language that is determined by use', situation or context'. S'ncamtho is a social variety of urban Ndebele, its matrix language. S'ncamtho can only be a register when speakers switch to it according to context like any other register. However, youth varieties are broader registers when compared to other situational styles (such as for example, the funeral styling of Ndebele) and to show that its use goes beyond situational use the term sociolect can be more appropriate than register and style.

According to Crystal (1997) dialects are rule-governed systems, with systematic deviations from other dialects of the same language. Concepts such as register and style can be viewed as qualities that constitute the systematic deviation of youth dialects from other dialects not as overall labels. Farr and Ball (1999:206) aver that several non-standard-English dialects are: 'as complex and as regularly patterned as other varieties of English, which are considered more standard'. While dialect traditionally refers to language as used by people of a geographical or social grouping or a substandard variety, we all speak dialects including the standard forms (Preston 1993).

The term sociolect is often used interchangeably with social dialect (Trudgill 2003, Romaine 2000). Trudgill (2003:122) conceptualises sociolect as: 'a variety or *lect* which is thought of as being related to its speakers' social background rather than geographical background'. According to Lewandowski (2010) the word sociolect was first used by Dillard in his (1972) work on Black English. It was later popularised by Wilkon (1989) in Polish sociolinguistics, where he defines sociolects as: 'language varieties related to such social

groups as: class, community and professional groups' (Wilkon, 1989:88). This definition suits S'ncamtho as it is a variation according to users, not according to use or context.

2.1.2 Slang, urban vernaculars and youth languages

Youth varieties have for a long time been seen as urban youth varieties. They have shared the urban space with urban slang and urban vernaculars, creating differentiation problems within these linguistic codes. Youth language practices have been identified as slang and those who dismiss them have mostly done so on the grounds that they are passing slang. Hurst (2017:211) argues that: 'while not simply slang, they share some features in common with slang use'. The association of youth languages with urbanity, partly creates the confusion with slang and urban vernaculars.

Allen (1998: 879) argues that 'sociologically speaking, slang is the urban part of popular speech and has historically found many of its incentives and referents in the socially diverse urban setting'. Some of the negative attitudes in the data stem from the passing nature of youth languages- this characteristic describes slang more than it does youth varieties. Dalzell (2012: xi) notes that: 'while not all slang is ephemeral, most is; likewise, youth itself is fleeting and transitory. Combine the passing nature of youth and the passing nature of slang and the result is quickly passing youth slang.' S'ncamtho and other youth languages are at times associated with slang (Gomaa, 2015) however, youth language practices do not fit into various slang definitions although they utilise slang. Chapman (1988:xix) argues that the roots of slang are found in the unconscious, and that slang serves as a defender against the suppression of a community. He further notes that: 'slang as a remedy denies the weakness and brags about the sinfulness'. It can be said that youth do resist the older generation and authority but this does not make them criminals. Crystal (2006:113) distances slang from criminality and declares that 'the widespread association of slang with thieves' argot and young people's gang language is not tenable as such, for we all use slang.' According to Allen (1998) youth languages utilise slang and can popularise slang. As a youth language practice, S'ncamtho utilises urban and rural Ndebele slang and other slang in the country.

While some slang is not secret and is present in popular discourse (Swanepoel 1978), S'ncamtho cannot be characterised as slang because slang implies informal vocabulary and youth language is not just about words. Recent research shows that youth language has many different aspects and facets to it – yes lexical, but also phonological (Kiessling and Mous 2004), stylistic (Hurst and Mesthrie 2013), discursive (Bennett (2000), metaphorical and cultural (Hurst 2016, Halliday 1976, Kiessling and Mous 2004). Youth languages are

sociolects in that they are examples of how people use language for social purposes, to achieve agency, decoloniality and identity.

Urban youth varieties are growing their domains of use and the community of practice is also increasing (McLaughlin 2009). This development takes them closer to urban vernaculars than urban slang. McLaughlin (2009) researched the influences of urban vernaculars in Africa and states that urban vernaculars such as urban Wolof in Senegal, urban Hausa in Nigeria and urban Lingala in Congo have expanded beyond the cities and are impacting rural populations, a trend also developing in youth sociolects. Hurst (2015:144) argues that:

For clarification purposes it is necessary to distinguish between tsotsitaal and the urban forms of the African languages that it uses as its base(s). Broadly, urban languages differ from tsotsitaals in that they:

- rely on one base language (unless they involve code-switching)
- are not domain-restricted
- are spoken by all generations and genders
- emerged from contact rather than criminal slang

So urban isiZulu or urban isiXhosa are the common forms used in urban centres. However, despite highlighting how urban forms differ from youth forms, some of the above points are actually true of tsotsitaal to one extent or another: it seems to be becoming less and less domain-restricted.

Urban vernaculars are juxtaposed to their rural counterparts and the belief that there are no rural youth varieties leads people to believe that urban vernaculars and youth varieties are one and the same phenomenon. Thipa (1989:26) identifies differences in what he calls urban Xhosa and rural Xhosa which he calls standard. He notes that urban Xhosa borrows more from English and Afrikaans, it is more innovative, rapidly changes and has western influence. The description of urban Xhosa which is closer to urban Ndebele the base language for S'ncamtho presupposes that rural forms are not stylised away from the standard; yet, rural youth create their own youth varieties around rural varieties. In Zimbabwe, the rural varieties are historically linked to the standard varieties which were described by missionaries during colonial times.

2.2 An overview of youth language research

International research on social varieties linked to the youth, criminals and resistance is important, as the trends across the world are not dissimilar to practices obtaining in S'ncamtho. The sections below review youth language research globally, in Africa and finally in Zimbabwe where S'ncamtho operates.

2.2.1 Research on international youth varieties

Slang and youth varieties have been in use in Europe for centuries now (Coleman, 2010). Wiese (2009:782) points out that in the last decade, adolescent language practices have been described for several European countries and gives examples of; *Straattaal* (street language) in the Netherlands, *Rinkebysvenska* (Rinkeby-Swedish) in Sweden, *Kobenhavnsk multietnolekt* (Copenhagen multi-ethnolect) in Denmark, and *Kiezdeutsch* (neighbourhood German) in Germany. In all these European youth varieties there is a link to criminality, and the research traditions on youth varieties have associated the varieties with criminality and migrant populations.

In Germany, according to a vote organised by dictionary publisher Langenscheidt in 2013, Germany's youth word of the year came from a Turkish word meaning boss or chief, "Babo", which provides evidence for the impact of migrant populations on youth language. The situation in Europe differs from the African experiences because international migration plays a much larger role in the development of European youth varieties (Penton 1941, Baker 1943, Maurer 1944, Lillo 2001, Coleman 2010 and Matthews 2015), as opposed to rural-urban migration and back-migration in the African context (Blench 2012, Kioko 2015 and Hurst 2017), where S'ncamtho developed and operates. The legacy of colonialism in Africa creates a situation whereby African youth varieties use colonial languages as source languages, a trend that is not prevalent in the European context.

2.2.2 Research on African youth languages

There has been much research and documentation of some youth languages in Africa. However, many have not been extensively researched and documented -S'ncamtho is one of these. Youth languages that have been researched and described include: Sheng in Kenya (Githiora 2016, Kioko 2015, Githinji 2006, Githiora 2002, Momanyi 2009), Nouchi in Ivory Coast (Kube 2003) Camfranglais in Cameroon (Kießling and Mous 2004), Iscamtho in South Africa (Childs 1997, Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997), Tsotsitaal/IsiTsotsi in South Africa (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997, Hurst 2008, 2009, 2010, Mesthrie & Hurst 2013, Makhudu 2002). However, many other youth languages do not have established glottonyms.

Urbanisation and modern communication modes have increased youth creativity in language, contributing to

the growth of urban youth varieties across the African urban space. Kiesling and Mous (2004:303) study and identify by name some youth languages in African urban centres. They identify Nouchi in Ivory Coast which is based on French, *Camfranglais* in Cameroon which is based on French, *Indoubil* and *Lingala ya Bayankeein* in the DRC, which are based on Lingala, and Sheng in Kenya, which is based on Swahili. Sheng in Kenya and tsotsitaals in South Africa appear to be leading in terms of research and documentation. Sheng is a youth variety like S'ncamtho but it has wider domains of use and there are claims to mother tongue speakers. Literature on Sheng is central to the analysis of S'ncamtho because it is a good example of the levels S'ncamtho is likely to reach in terms of spread. Kioko (2015) has indicated that Sheng is based on class and location, and also notes that there is urban and rural Sheng.

The youth language phenomenon has been researched extensively in South Africa. Ntshangase (1993:1) mentions that Iscamtho (also written *Sqamtho*) is popular with young male youths in Soweto and is stigmatised by standard Zulu speakers and educators. He notes that it is also called “Bad Zulu”, and some of its names are; *Iringas*, *Itaal*, *Isitsotsi*, or *Isijita*. The name S'ncamtho is derived from *Sqamtho* as noted by Bogoda (1999), who also indicates that it is the same as Tsotsitaal. The origin of the name Tsotsitaal is traced by Calteaux (1996:56):

Tsotsitaal is also known as *Flytaal* (*Flaaitaal*) (from Eng. '[to] fly' and Afr. *taal* 'language') which has the connotation (according to Ntshangase, 1993:8) that the speaker of this language is a modern, progressive person who can see the world and things from above, i.e. from a better angle. Childs (1992:6) explains, however, that the name *Flaaitaal* (or *Flytaal*) was coined on the basis of a pun with Sotho tsetse 'fly'. It is also possible that the name Tsotsitaalis likewise derived from this Sotho noun. Tsotsitaal is also known as *isiLovasi* in the Durban area (Zungu, 1995:110).

Bogoda (1999) studied the area of Soweto in Johannesburg where he notes that the medium of communication amongst the youth of both sexes in the area is *Tsotsitaal*, *Ringers*, *Sprake* or *Sqamtho*. Mesthrie and Hurst (2013) also mention other types of *tsotsitaals* in Cape Town such as *Gamtaal* and *Flaaitaal* which are Afrikaans based *tsotsitaals*, however, they are interested in the code-switching in urban slang registers and how urban varieties are restructured. They show that code-switching is not a feature of the youth variety, but a feature of the urban variety which provides the base language for the youth variety. This research is particularly influenced by the works of Bogoda (1999), Ntshangase (1993), Zungu (1995), and Calteaux (1996) as the Bulawayo urban youth variety is closely related to Zulu based youth languages in Johannesburg. This research differs in that it is interested in the metaphoric expressions in S'ncamtho and their influence on the population of Ndebele speakers and standard Ndebele forms.

The connection between S'ncamtho and Zulu-based Iscamtho is evident from the similarities in the names of the youth varieties. Ntshangase (1993:1) states that the name Iscamtho is:

Derived from the (Zulu) verb *-qamutha* or *-qamunda* 'to talk volubly or maintain a constant flow of language', and is known to its speakers as *Iringas* (from Eng. 'ring' as in the ring of a telephone), *Itaal* (from Afr. *taal* i.e. language'), *Istsotsi* (from *tsotsi* meaning 'a thief or generally 'a young city slick man') or *Isjita* (from *umjita* 'young man').

Ntshangase (1993:44-80) states that, Iscamtho developed from an argot known as *Shalambombo*, an argot of Durban gangs. The argot is said to have developed and spread to Johannesburg where it was called Iscamtho by gangs in Orlando, Pimville and the Moroka Emergency Camp. Today, Iscamtho is one of the names for the youth language used in Johannesburg townships such as Soweto.

Urban youth varieties appear to be spreading outside their epicentres and this trend is important for this study as it concerns the spread of S'ncamtho. Ditsele and Mann (2014) have examined an emerging Sotho-based urban youth variety in the South African capital city Tshwane (also known as Pretoria) which they call Sepitori. They argue that Sepitori is an important communication bridge for a supra-nation that has many languages in contact. Ditsele and Hurst (2016) evaluate the vocabulary of Sepitori in the North West province of South Africa and identify tsotsitaal terminology in Sepitori. They argue that tsotsitaal has travelled from its epicentre in the townships of Johannesburg in Gauteng province to areas in the North West province. North-West province borders Botswana, but it is not known whether tsotsitaal terminology has spread beyond that border.

Aside from the above well-described phenomena, there are emerging youth varieties in Africa and researchers are eager to describe and document new youth varieties in the continent. Nassenstein (2016) has described Yabacrane, the youth variety of Goma in the DRC, and identifies the community of practice as youth who are influenced by western popular culture. Hollington (2015) has conducted research on Yarada K'wank'wa the Amharic-based urban youth variety of Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. She evaluates the linguistic manipulations employed by the youth to lexicalise the variety, which do not differ from the manipulations in S'ncamtho. Although she notes that collection of Yarada K'wank'wa words started in 1968, the variety is still constrained in terms of domains of use and little research has been done on it. Koji (2006:793) constructs a criminal link to Yarada K'wank'wa when he avers; the Amharic word *arada* can mean; the centre, dangerous person, thief, crafty, cool or playboy depending on context.

Nassenstein (2015) considers the emerging youth language of Kigali in Rwanda, called Imvugo y'Umuhanda (IyU), and he highlights that the code does not emphasise criminality and is used throughout Kigali especially

by youngsters who call themselves *abaniga* “niggers”. Imvugo y’Umuhandu is based on Kinyarwanda and was created as an alternative during the transition from French to English as the official language in Rwanda. He notes that the variety was popularised by rappers such as Bulldog, Riderman and J-Pauli. The ‘community of practice’ (Eckert 2000), in Imvugo y’Umuhandu is similar to that of S’ncamtho; taxi drivers, conductors, touts, musicians, and street vendors.

Mugaddam (2015) explores the identity construction and linguistic innovation in Randuk the urban youth variety of Khartoum in Sudan. The linguistic innovations he explores are important for this study’s linguistic analysis of S’ncamtho metaphors. In Uganda, Rusch and Nassenstein (2016) identify a youth variety called Leb pa Bulu and they explore linguistic manipulations and the styles that result in the spread of these varieties to people who admire the styling therein. Meanwhile Chinelo and Amaoge (2011) refer to the Igbo youth language in the Nigerian Otu-onitsha community. They also allude to the fact that the youth variety is spreading across Nigerian communities impacting on vernaculars and standard varieties which borrow words from the variety.

2.2.3 Research on Zimbabwean youth varieties

Zimbabwean youth languages have not yet received much academic attention (Hollington and Makwabarara 2015) and the varieties in Zimbabwe are constrained in terms of their domains of use compared to other youth languages in Africa such as Sheng in Kenya and Tanzania, Tsotsitaal in South Africa and Nouchi in Ivory Coast. Hollington and Makwabarara (2015) state that of the many languages in Zimbabwe, English, Ndebele and Shona are the common matrix languages on which youth language practices in Zimbabwe are built. They argue that linguistic realities of youth language practices in Zimbabwe are still not well defined and the youth varieties cannot be defined as ‘youth languages’ slang, or sociolects. However, this research tends to differ from them as it identifies expanding domains of use for S’ncamtho in the media and as an emerging urban lingua franca in Bulawayo. They refer to it as a Ndebele-based variety yet by the time they did their research the variety was already known by monikers such as S’ncamtho, *isiTsotsi*, and *isiJida*.

The ground breaking research that Hollington and Makwabarara (2015) conducted on lexical innovation in Zimbabwean *tsotsitaals* raises concerns and contradictions that are central to the objectives of this thesis. They explore lexicalising strategies such as borrowing, code-switching and mixing, metathesis and morphological hybridisation, all of which are employed in this study to characterise metaphor in S’ncamtho. However, they use examples of Nguni lexical variants to make a claim that S’ncamtho borrows from Zulu. For example, the

word *uyakuphi*? ('Where are you going?') is claimed to be borrowed from the Zulu word *kuphi*. This is not a S'ncamtho phrase but rather it is a standard Ndebele phrase that is a variant of *uyangaphi*? What this study establishes is that S'ncamtho borrows from Ndebele and Ndebele is particularly close to Zulu. However, S'ncamtho also borrows heavily from the Zulu-based urban youth language.

In Hollington and Makwabarara's (2015) discussion on semantic shift in Zimbabwean tsotsitaals, they give four examples of metaphors used in this analysis and these are; *umzukhulu* (sic) which should be *umzukulu* ('niece' or 'girlfriend'), *ukuthyainyayo* (sic) which should be *ukutshaya inyawo* (heating the legs for having sex by males), *orovai* (sic) which should be *orobayi* ('the beaters' from Shona *rova*, to mean 'police'), and *umahotsha* ('prostitute'). They also introduce gender dynamics in Zimbabwean youth varieties and they make claims that are important for this argument as they note that the varieties in Zimbabwe are not exclusively male.

There has been research in Zimbabwe on the subjects of slang and youth varieties. Chimhundu (1993) briefly examines Shona slang, and he chooses to call it 'Town Shona'. Neate (1994) undertook one of the pioneering works on the urban varieties in Harare and in his study he identifies *Chinozi* as the black youth English variety of Harare. He notes that the culture is characterised by alienation from African culture and an inclination towards western cultures. Makoni, Dube and Mashiri (2006:393) point out that as part of a process of identity construction, coloured people in Zimbabwe constructed a street language- an argot called *Kabid*, a resistance and anti-white code which is a reverse slang. To emphasise resistance to formal English, they use inverted pronunciation for example; look out is *kooltow*. Makoni, Brutt-Griffler and Mashiri (2007) have also studied the use of urban vernaculars in Zimbabwe and identify the presence of Chewa terms in the urban variety of Harare.

Muzondidya (2007) in his analysis of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe identifies the term *jambanja* as Zimbabwean urban lingua franca or slang for 'violence' or 'chaos', popularised after the 2000 chaotic farm invasions. The aftermath of the farm invasions were stressful for Zimbabweans such that Kandenge and Mavunga (2009) analyse the use of Shona slang metaphors as stress coping mechanisms, while Mashiri (2009) in his analysis of names given by the Shona to express discontent calls Shona slang '*Shonglish*'. Mabaso (2009:117) looking at the challenges of compiling a Shona children's dictionary identifies established slang terms used by children such as *bhoo* ('okay') and transitory ones such as *chibhanzi* ('money') and *shuzura* ('to go'). Chapanga and Choto (2015:65) look at the use of celebrities to advertise wireless phone network provider services in Zimbabwe and they cite Shona slang such as; *yaunolava kuita* ('what you love to do'),

five dhombi chete ('five dollars only'), and *air time jahwi* ('air time is plenty'). As is evident however, the research on youth varieties in Zimbabwe is partial and incomplete, and this research aims to contribute to this discussion, particularly in regard to linguistic strategies. The majority of studies on Zimbabwean urban varieties are on slang and they are important to this study because S'ncamtho utilises slang.

2.3 Popular themes in youth languages and linguistic innovation strategies

There are popular themes on which youth language metaphor is created and to facilitate the semantic changes and shifts present in metaphor the youth utilise some linguistic innovation strategies to create metaphor. The sections below review literature on popular themes in youth sociolects and the linguistic innovations that create metaphor in these sociolects.

2.3.1 Popular themes in youth languages

Youth languages have more lexemes, and relexicalisation occurs more in areas that are of interest to location urban youth especially male youth. The popular themes in youth sociolects also help mark the domains in which these sociolects operate. Androutsopoulos (2005:1497) avers that:

Areas known for their abundance in youth slang are social categorisations, mental and emotional states, sexuality, and states of intoxication, evaluative and intensifying vocabulary. A second area concerns processes of slang creation, such as word-formation, semantic shift, and borrowing.

The topics that are popular to the youth guide the methods of collecting and analysing metaphor in this research, as metaphors are characterised according to themes to avoid analysing metaphors from just one vocabulary area. Hurst and Buthelezi (2014: 193) observe that the ten most popular topics in the Durban youth variety are: girls and sex; drinking; smoking; other people; religion; famous people; music; race; crime and police; money; fighting and violence. Religion is a surprisingly popular topic, indicating that the use of youth language does not preclude philosophical discussions.

This study avers that the youth operating within their popular topics create metaphor and the metaphors spread. The discussion of philosophical topics such as religion prove that youth languages have philosophical

and cognitive abilities that create metaphor, and the base languages and other contact languages can benefit from these youth language metaphorical expressions. Crime and the sub-culture are not the most prominent topics in youth languages and this has implications on their non-argot characteristic and subsequent spread to other people who are also not criminals. In his study of Saudi Youth Slang (SYS) Gomaa (2015: 103) says:

The total valid SYS examples provided by the participants cover three major topics, i.e. sex (including organs, and sexual activities), evaluations of people (men 62.53% and women 14.54%) and leisure and fun (men 57.23% and women 9.52%). These three topics are of fundamental interest to youth in Saudi Arabia.

Categorisation of popular themes in youth language research applies to S'ncamtho. The number of metaphors per theme is related to the popularity of the theme amongst the youth. The thematic characterisation of youth sociolects is also linked to other dynamics that are central to this research such as age and gender. The popular topics for example are of more interest to males than they are to females and this creates implications for gender dynamics in S'ncamtho.

2.3.2 Lexical innovation strategies in youth languages

Relexicalisation in youth languages the world over has created 'over-lexicalisation' (a proliferation of synonyms) (Halliday 1976), and the lexicalisation processes create metaphors. Youth languages are characterised by high lexical turn over. However, some youth language terminology has overstayed the usual youth language welcome in S'ncamtho and is impacting Ndebele usage. This study focuses on metaphor in youth sociolects which is often created through linguistic manipulations. The processes that are applied by youths when creating lexical items include borrowing, abbreviations, code-switching and mixing, morphological hybridisation, metonymy, coinage, relexicalisation, semantic extension and onomastic synecdoche.

In his analysis of Randuk, an AUYL of Sudan, Mugaddam (2015) points out that relexicalisation, the creation of new terms for old ones is a salient feature of the so-called 'anti-language'. Relexicalisation is a key innovation strategy used in S'ncamtho to create lexicon and metaphor. Other youth languages use inversion of the standard pronunciation to create terminology. Phonological innovations are common transformations in the making of secret languages. Lin (1988) looks at the structure of Taiwanese secret languages and notes that they use nasal segments to hide meaning and create difference from common pronunciations. Bakalla (2002) identifies the secret language *Misf* in Wadi Ibrahim Saudi Arabia and he concurs that the distortions are based

on phonological transformations to create a secret code. However, phonological manipulations are not key metaphor creating strategies in S'ncamtho.

Aitchison (2006:20) argues that: 'a leap in vocabulary size around the age of 14 is associated with the acquisition of standard rules for word formation: for example, English children learn that in order to create an abstract noun *-ness* is added to an adjective, as in good, goodness.' The morphological processes and affixes are now borrowed across languages due to globalisation, and the legacy of colonial languages in African schools. S'ncamtho features terms that are created using for example the English affix *-ness* on Zulu and Ndebele adjectives, the popular one being *ayobaness* for goodness. Mugaddam (2015) identifies affixation in Randuk as one of the creative linguistic strategies used to create vocabulary. He further states that prefixes such as; *ya-*, *mu-* and *ta-* are attached to English lexemes to form verbs, adjectives and nouns, respectively. This lexical strategy is extensively employed on English words in S'ncamtho to derive metaphors and vocabulary.

Wardhaugh (1986) argues that change in a language which is external in nature, is change brought about through borrowing. Youth varieties borrow from the modern urban environment to create metaphorical expressions. Ndlovu (2012:49) avers: 'Borrowing then becomes language change due to language contact. When there are new concepts in nature, technology, religion and location there is a need to change the language to accommodate them.' The youth uses a lot of borrowed symbols especially from western technology to replace traditional metaphoric vehicles in standard Ndebele. Hollington and Makwavarara (2015) indicate that there is a lot of borrowing in Zimbabwean youth varieties involving the main national languages English, Ndebele and Shona. Similarly, Hurst and Buthelezi (2014) compare visual and linguistic aspects between Cape Town and Durban tsotsitaals and they observe relexicalisation and lexicalisation in both tsotsitaals. The Cape Town tsotsitaal borrows more from Afrikaans and Xhosa while the Durban one exhibits greater English and Zulu inclination, due to the different linguistic ecology of the two cities. Another strategy is to utilise archaic terms - Amari (2010:2) advises that some slang terms are revived for the second or a third time, the way that fashions are.

Related to borrowing are other multilingual phenomena such as code mixing and code switching. These two are also employed as strategies of metaphor and term creation in youth varieties. Code switching does not characterise S'ncamtho metaphor because it implies using sentences from different languages (Bamgbose 1971), however, code-mixing is common in S'ncamtho. It is defined as a sociolinguistic phenomenon of language contact that results in lexical borrowing and mixture of languages (Bamgbose 1971). Bokamba

(1989) says that code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes, bound and free morphemes, phrases and clauses. This definition qualifies morphological hybridisation and affixation using different languages as code-mixing strategies that are common in youth varieties. Momanyi (2009:133) states 'Code mixing is a common feature in 'Sheng' where Kiswahili, English and sometimes even other local African languages' morphemes are used to form words and sentences.'

Another feature linked to code-mixing is the use of abbreviations to shorten and create new meaning in African youth varieties. Abbreviations are linked to code-mixing in African youth varieties because African languages do not employ abbreviations but rather they use English or French abbreviations. Ndlovu (2012) has shown how Ndebele for example adapts English abbreviations as its phonology does not allow for abbreviations, and the use of abbreviations in Ndebele and S'ncamtho are instances of code-mixing. Smith-Hefner (2007:192) identifies abbreviation as a lexicalising strategy in Gaul, the youth variety of Indonesia. Other forms of abbreviation in Gaul include clipping as in: restaurant to *resto*. S'ncamtho employs various forms of abbreviations to create metaphor some of which are discussed in the data.

Semantic manipulations are key metaphor creation strategies in youth varieties. Hollington and Makwabarara (2015) state that semantic extension and shift are used in Zimbabwean youth varieties to assign new meanings to existing words, and in this way metaphor is created. Mugaddam (2015) also identifies semantic manipulation in Randuk and notes that it manifests mostly as metonymy, the relational extension of meaning. In this way, metaphors are similarly created in S'ncamtho. Rusch and Nassenstein (2016) in their analysis of Lep pa Bulu the Acholi-based Ugandan youth sociolect identify semantic manipulations that create metaphor such as the use of the word dairy to refer to female breast. Semantic manipulations are important in this study as they create the majority of the metaphors that form the primary data which is tested on population samples in the thesis. Semantic manipulations also include the various coinage strategies employed in urban and rural youth varieties to create new terms and meanings from the modern environment.

Another semantic manipulation strategy used in S'ncamtho metaphor creation is onomastic synecdoche. This is linked to iconography which is a popular feature of African urban youth varieties. Popular icons from popular culture, politics and sport are used to name or describe related phenomena. Onomastic synecdoche is the use of a proper name to express a related meaning. Boutin and Dodo (2018:55) observe that in Nouchi, onomastic synecdoche is employed to create new meanings from proper names:

‘Gbagbo: ‘small towel’/ *Gbagboter*: ‘walk lengthily’, originated from Laurent Koudou Gbagbo, former Ivorian Head of State. When he was a political opponent, he used to hang a towel around his neck when leading peaceful protest marches. *Liverpool*: ‘1,000 FCFA banknote’ in reference to the red colour of Liverpool FC’s jersey’.

Another form of onomastic synecdoche common in youth varieties is nicknaming. Nicknaming and pet naming are common in youth talk and they achieve various ends within the youth culture. Nicknames are more common in areas where youth are in constant close contact, Taylor-Leech, Starks and Willoughby (2015: 53) point out that regular, close and intense contact between school students provides fertile ground for nickname formation. Nicknames have been linked to youth varieties, Morgan, O’Neill and Harre (1979:98) argue that: ‘Nicknames act as an index of youth culture since they display many of the features typically associated with youth language, such as puns and other wordplay, references to culture, in-jokes, rapid and high rates of turnover, nonstandard spelling and other forms of informal or nonstandard speech.’ Mensah (2016) looks at nicknames of women in Nigerian youth varieties and notes that while nicknames are fluid few can last for a life time. He cites metaphoric nicknames for females and among these are; *Thatcher* (for iron fisted and mean woman), and *Jezebel* (for a beautiful and seductive woman). Physical attributes of women are also metaphorically mapped on to natural phenomena such as hurricanes and magma. Onomastic synecdoche and other linguistic manipulations discussed above create metaphor in youth sociolects. Literature on metaphor in youth varieties is discussed in the sections that follow.

2.4 Metaphor in youth languages

The creativity of slang and youth varieties is not primarily aimed at the creation of new languages but rather at the creation of new meanings on the standard and vernacular lexis and this is primarily done through metaphor. Halliday (1976:578) observes that:

It is this metaphorical character that defines the anti-language. An anti-language is a metaphor for an everyday language; and this metaphorical quality appears all the way up and down the system. There are phonological metaphors, grammatical metaphors - morphological, lexical and perhaps syntactic - and semantic metaphors.

Metaphor is abundant in youth varieties, and it is the concern of this study to check on the availability of clear categories of metaphor in youth languages. Clear categories of metaphor confirm the structuring and systematicity that qualify S'ncamtho as a social dialect with its own system of metaphors that can affect and impact other people and languages.

2.4.1 Cognitive Metaphor Theory

In classical theories, metaphor is perceived as a matter of language, not thought. Chesterton (1901) observes that one stream of poetry that is always flowing is slang. He notes that all slang is metaphor and all metaphor is poetry. The association of metaphor with poetry gave rise to the analysis of metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon. However, Lakoff (1993:202) has shown that poetic language is not just a function of language, but of thought as well. He views metaphor as constructs of general mappings across domains. He also avers that metaphors do not apply to poetic language only but they are more common in everyday usage of language.

Cognitive science has helped over the years to give a cognitive approach to metaphor theory as opposed to the classical theory which is a linguistic approach. The cognitive perception on metaphor describes the everyday use of metaphor in S'ncamtho not just as a performance like in poetry but as a cognitive process too. The Cognitive Theory of metaphor is therefore grounded on cross domain mappings. Gibbs (1996: 309) has argued that metaphor is not only a figure of speech but it influences people's thinking every day. Hornby (1994:780) defines metaphor as 'the use of a word or phrase to indicate something different (although related in some way) to the literal meaning'. In trying to understand literal and figurative meaning of metaphors, Estill and Kemper (1982:560) identify three possibilities of comprehending literal and figurative meanings of idioms- (1) that literal meaning is retrieved and processed before figurative meaning (2) that figurative meaning is retrieved and processed before literal meaning, and (3) that the computation of an idiom's literal meaning is simultaneous with the retrieval of its figurative meaning.

Metaphor is common in the expression of emotions such as love anger and hate. Kovecses (1986:117) says 'the basic-level metaphor allows us to comprehend and draw inferences about these [emotions] concepts, using our knowledge of familiar, well-structured domains.' Gibbs (1994:1) also adds that cognition in humans is shaped by metaphor. Metaphor is an essential part of communication and urban youth languages employ it as it helps express abstract notions and feelings. Murphy (1996:176) avers that some concepts can only be understood through others – for example, the way in which we relate emotions to temperature. Lakoff (1993:207) further argues that what constitutes a metaphor is not any particular word or expression. It is the ontological mapping across conceptual domains, from the source domain of, for example, weather – cold to the feeling of being indifferent towards someone or ignoring them.

Characterisation and classification of metaphor has been done by scholars such as: Lakoff (1993), Gibbs (1994), Gibbs et al (2004), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Gentner (1994) and Reddy (1979). Their characterisation of metaphor is important for the study as they examine different realisations of metaphor in proverbs, sayings and euphemisms. Gibbs et al (2004:1193) discuss image schema as a concept in understanding metaphor. They argue that embodied experiences and physical images are used as image schema to discuss abstract domains of cognition such as political support, control, arguments, or love. Lakoff (1993:205) avers that the evidence for the existence of a system of conventional conceptual metaphor consists of five types which are: generalisations giving polysemy, that is, the use of words with a number of related meanings, generalisations giving inference patterns, that is, cases where a pattern of inferences from one conceptual domain is used on the other generalisations giving novel metaphorical language; generalisations giving patterns of semantic change, as is popular with slang, and lastly Lakoff gives the evidence of psycholinguistic experiments. Gentner (1998:48) argues that: 'Metaphors can be divided into four partially overlapping categories: attributional metaphors, relational metaphors, double metaphors and a category of complex metaphors that resist analysis as one-one mappings.'

Kovecses (1986:20) has propounded a folk theory of metaphor that argues that physiological effects of a concept are used to construct metaphors of the concept, for example, physiologically an angry person's body temperature rises, and heat and boiling are metaphors for anger. Gibbs et al (2004: 1190) concur with the folk theory of metaphor when they aver 'our aim is to make the case for the grounding of metaphor in embodied experience. We argue that the poetic value and the communicative expressiveness of metaphoric language partly arise from its roots in people's ordinary, felt sensations of their bodies in action.'

Richards, (1936) describes a metaphor as having two parts: 'the tenor and the vehicle'. The tenor is the subject to which attributes are ascribed. The vehicle is the object whose attributes are borrowed. Murphy (1996:175) notes that: 'in verbal metaphor, there are usually two explicit parts: a topic, which is the entity being talked about, and the vehicle, which is the metaphoric material being predicated of the topic.' Murphy (1996:175) argues that 'in order for a sentence to be perceived as metaphoric, the vehicle cannot apply in a straightforward way to the topic.'

Reddy (1979:290) analyses metaphor as a conduit of thought and words, and his framework gives rise to what he calls 'the conduit metaphor'. He argues that words have a capacity to carry thoughts and they have a limit to what they can carry and later on express. He identifies four key concepts in the Conduit Metaphor Theory which are; (1) language functions like a conduit, transferring thought bodily from one person to another, (2) in

writing and speaking, people insert their thoughts or feelings in the words; (3) words accomplish the transfer by containing the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others; and (4) in listening or reading, people extract the thoughts and feelings once again from the words.

Murphy (1996) understands metaphor structure to have two versions; the strong and the weak version. In the strong version one kind of thing is understood in terms of the other, only the source knowledge is known and it is used to explain the unknown target. In the weak version of metaphor structure, he argues that both the source and the target are known. The source therefore complements what is already understood. These various conceptualisations of metaphor form the basis for the analysis of metaphor which includes cross domain mappings in chapter 4.

2.4.2 Metaphor and taboo in youth languages

Urban youth varieties and slang have been associated with metaphor since research into the area started and in some instances these have been summed up as metaphor languages (Halliday (1976). Youth varieties are made up of metaphor among other linguistic processes. Adamo (2013) in this vein argues that students at Delta State University in Nigeria use other concepts to refer to concepts relating to university life in creating the youth variety in Nigerian universities. Horne (2010) also analyses the contribution of slang in deriving HIV and AIDS related metaphorical terminology in several African languages and countries, and he identifies some of the tsotsitaal euphemisms coined around HIV and AIDS in South African tsotsitaal.

Taboo language affects youth varieties and prompts them to create metaphors to avoid taboo terms. Ayisis (1972:91) traces the word taboo back to the Tongan word for forbidden *tabu*. Youth varieties have been associated and identified with euphemistic terms especially in domains of reproductive health, excrement and other tabooed domains in society. Youth language euphemisms easily enter mainstream languages for the ease of communicating taboo topics. There have been several research studies on youth language euphemism in tabooed domains –some of the notable works are by Suguitan (2005), Horne (2010), Joffe (1948), Peterson (1998), Dirckx (2004), Selikov (2004), and Mokondo and Makondo (2014). The association of youth varieties with topics such as drugs, crime, sex, religion, and money (Hurst and Buthelezi, 2014), creates the need for euphemisms so as to communicate these often tabooed or illicit topics. Mojela (2002) notes that in several youth varieties across the world and in South Africa, marijuana has many euphemisms, such as *maruana*, *mingus*, *gantja*, *the holy herb*, *dabas*, *giggle sticks*, *greens*, *majat*, *zol*, *boppa*, *moshwang*, and *fasa-nkhola*. The euphemisms are then utilised by the wider community as these topics are not tabooed by the youth only.

The tendency to create euphemisms in youth languages is an old stylising strategy. Dalzell (2012:4) argues that in American slang of the 1930s there are a startling number of words for toilet, including *bank*, *can*, *crystal*, *domus*, *Egypt*, *honey house*. He also notes that some of the euphemisms for toilet demarcate sex, male toilets are called *Jake*, *Joe*, while the ladies are called *marble palace*, *shot shower*, *temple*, and *X*. Suguitan (2005) has studied the gay slang in the Philippines, and notes that there are euphemistic terms for female anatomy and females in general in the variety. Euphemistic expressions are there to circumvent taboo norms in society and in Africa there are many taboo words and concepts that need euphemisms for pragmatic expression.

Menstruation is one tabooed concept in Ndebele and the society tries by all means to avoid the topic but when the need arises to talk about it, euphemisms are employed. Joffe (1948) highlights some of the youth euphemisms for menstruation that are popularly used by the wider community of English speakers in the United States of America. He notes terms and expressions such as; *on*, *period*, *on the rag*, *unwell* and *red*, as youth language euphemisms for menstruation, some of which are used outside youth contexts. Research on slang and euphemism is important to this research as euphemistic constructions are cognitive processes that can be analysed using Cognitive Metaphor Theory, and they appear to spread outside youth varieties to key domains such as medicine and reproductive health education. This research therefore includes euphemisms as a possible area where S'ncamtho could influence the mainstream language.

2.4.3 African youth language and metaphor

Youth usually create their own meaning in words to create proverbial expressions that are characteristic of urban youth varieties. Adamo (2013) reveals how university students in Nigeria use English terms, but change the referents to create youth language metaphor. He notes that the words are used in a context that is related to their Standard English referents but it is changed to mark the university code. Mawadza (2000) identifies a similar trend in Harare's Shona-based *tsotsitaal*. She says there are metaphoric extensions that are used to derive terminology for Shona slang in Harare.

Proverbs and sayings are part of the metaphorical expressions under study. S'ncamtho creates proverbs and sayings from the popular youth topics and the modern culture in urban areas. Nyembezi (1963:1) argues that:

The proverbs in use are not confined, however, to the old expressions, because we may clearly discern some proverbs, which must have come into the language in fairly recent times, for instance, the expression, *wahambis'okwejuba likaNoah* (he went like Noah's dove).

Tavernier-Almada (1999:325) argues that: 'Sometimes it is easy to detect that a proverb is newly coined by a reference to something recent, such as the Haitian proverb; the fish that is being micro waved does not fear the lightning'. This process of creating metaphor is always ongoing, so that possible new metaphors and proverbs are being created constantly. Those sayings that are adopted and used by many people become proverbial in that society. The spread of new S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings to a greater number of people in the Ndebele population standardises some of these S'ncamtho metaphors and makes them part of the language in various domains, especially areas of popular culture.

Youth varieties give new meanings to words to create metaphor. Dozie and Madu (2012) in their study of Nigerian university students' slang identify metaphors such as; to *leg* 'to see someone off', *wack* 'eat', *bottling* 'drinking beer', *chilax* 'relax', *ginger* 'frighten', and *microchip* 'a piece of paper with answers used to cheat in examinations'. Mojela (2002) declares that some of the metaphors in youth varieties tend to stick longer and gain more respect, and he cites the metaphor for girlfriend, *tsheri*, in Northern Sotho which is now less offensive when compared to the standard words for girlfriend such as *nyatse*, *motlabo* or *mokaola*. Nassenstein (2015) exemplifies the use of metaphor as a lexicalising strategy in Imvugo y'Umuhandu, Rwanda's urban youth variety, whereby eating is used by males as a metaphor for having sex;

Na-ry-e u-mw-ána.

1sgS-eat-PRF (AUG)-CL1-child

Literal meaning- 'I ate that child'

Metaphorical meaning- 'I had sex with that girl.'- physical hunger is mapped on to sexual desire and having sex maps to eating as a way of quenching sexual hunger.

Mensah (2012) asserts that the Agaba Boys in Nigeria use a hybridised street language which is characterised by slang, metaphor and taboo. Githinji (2008) also identifies metaphor in Sheng, the Kenyan youth variety, by citing the metaphorical term *mafinishings* for 'sexy female buttocks', as they are seen as having been made through finishing touches, as well as being literally at the finish (at the rear).

Hurst (2016) also investigates the operation of metaphor within Tsotsitaal, the South African youth variety, and identifies lexical and syntactic metaphors. Some of the lexical metaphors she identifies are; *gaz'lam* which

means ‘my blood’ and is a metaphor for friend, *masha* meaning ‘to march’ and is a metaphor for walking or going, *ringa* from ring meaning ‘talk, speak or tell’, *smoko* from smoke meaning ‘trouble’ and *ispani* from Afrikaans *span* meaning ‘to work’. She goes on to identify some phrasal metaphors in Tsotsitaal such as *ungvalele ngaphandle* meaning ‘to close out’, and used as a metaphor for blocking a boy from getting a girl. Hurst (2016) also alludes to the performance of verbal duelling in Tsotsitaal as using a lot of metaphor.

Kadenge and Mavunga (2010) examine how the Shona of Zimbabwe create metaphors from the 2008 period of unrest in the country. Gambahaya, Mashiri and Kangira (2010) allude to the use of metaphor in Zimbabwean youth varieties when they examine vehicles of indirectness in urban language. Mberi, Masowa and Mamvura (2011) also study the language of kombi drivers and touts in Harare and concur that there is extensive use of metaphor in the variety. Mateveke (2014) looks at Stunner’s Hip Hop music in Zimbabwe and identifies Harare youth variety metaphors in his songs. Some of the metaphors identified by Mateveke (2014) are *gas* for ‘beer’, *moko* for ‘girlfriend’, *small house* for ‘mistress’, *hustle* for ‘working hard’, *bling* for ‘good life’, *mababie* ‘babies’ for girls, *hobho* for ‘many’, *kupresser* ‘to press for, pursue’ and *kusona* ‘to sew up for chasing’.

Males in youth varieties are obsessed with certain topics and girls are one of those topics (Hurst and Buthelezi 2014). In their study of verbal abuse on girls by boys in the Shona youth variety in Zimbabwe, Museka and Kaguda (2013) note the use of metaphors to describe girls by Zimbabwean school boys. Some of the interesting metaphoric tags used on girls identified by Museka and Kaguda (2013) are; *gaba* ‘muggy’ for a girl who is no longer a virgin, *muponisi* ‘saviour’ for a loose girl who saves any boy who needs sex, *mbonga* ‘spirit medium’ for a girl who does not go out with boys, *kuwora* ‘to be rotten’ for a girl who has a sexually transmitted disease, loose biscuit for a loose girl, *CNN* abbreviation for Condom Not Necessary, *kubatana* ‘intact’ for a well-built girl, *bootilicious* for a well-shaped girl and *dairy* for a girl with a big bust. Mugari (2014) studies Zimbabwean urban grooves music and alludes to the fact that the musician King Shaddy uses the analogy of a toll gate to refer to girls who love money.

2.5 Youth language dynamics

This section will introduce a number of dynamics relating to the use of youth language, such as class, gender, age, and popular culture. Youth varieties are gendered in the majority because male youth tend to use more of the varieties as compared to their female counterparts (Jespersen 2013, Flexner 1975, Pooley 2000). Females

are usually the subject of labelling in youth varieties making most of them sexist (Mate 2012). Youth varieties are also linked to crime, vulgarity and gangsterism. Many urban peers use youth varieties and prison argot is claimed to be the source of most urban youth varieties (Maurer 1944). Slang and youth varieties are instruments of expressing distress and resentment in class struggles (Dalzell 2010) and yet, the varieties themselves are created based on the class of the youth and seek to improve the social status of the users. Youth influences in business and the entertainment industry has seen youth varieties become prominent in popular culture and the new media, a situation that has seen them impact on standard varieties and education (Merchant 2001, Morrell 2002, Kioko 2015). The sections that follow discuss these dynamics in more detail.

2.5.1 Class and youth languages

Youth languages are created along class lines in society and they can therefore be analysed using class as a descriptor. Androutsopoulos (2005) links youth language to class and notes that class differentiates adolescent language practices. Stenstrom (1997) notes that there are more variations from British English among adolescents that are classified as lower working class. The class system in society motivates the youth to use language in a manner that reflects their social status and aspirations.

Class in slang and youth languages is made clear by the distinction made by scholars such as Ugot (2013), who contrasts ghetto and university slang as examples. Youth from upper classes in African societies usually construct their youth languages using English, French, Afrikaans and Portuguese as base languages while the township ones use African languages as bases (Neate 1994, Kioko 2015). According to Nassenstein (2015) university students in Rwanda despise Imvugo y'Umuhanza as an inferior code, because they consider it as belonging to the lower classes of uneducated people in the townships of Rwanda. Kioko (2015:105) identifies an upper class youth variety in Kenya called *Engsh*, which is spoken in Westlands area of Nairobi by middle class and rich speakers. He further notes that the lower classes in Nairobi use Sheng while Shenginised Kamba is common in rural areas outside Nairobi.

Urban youths are usually of a higher economic status than their rural counterparts (Nassenstein 2015) and they use language styles to mark their status. In Zimbabwe, there are two distinct types of urban youth – those that come from the affluent suburbs and those that come from the high density suburbs commonly known as the locations or ghettos. S'ncamtho is the language of the ghetto youth while affluent youth speak a youth variety based on English and are popularly known as *Amanozi* (nose brigades). English is believed in Ndebele to be a language spoken through the nose (Neate 1994), hence the term *Amanozi*. Richer youth in Zimbabwe's urban

areas tend to use English as a matrix language and their varieties are at times seen as rivals to those based on African languages and originating in less affluent townships and rural areas as the data reveals. The classification of youth sociolects into youth socio-economic classes is important for the study because it compares youth variety usage across the socio-economic spectrum in Zimbabwe.

2.5.2 Youth varieties, identity and community of practice

Group identity can be reinforced through language, Dalzell (2010:7) notes that common threads found in the idioms of many oppressed groups include; construction of collective identity reinforced through slang, inversion and incongruity where good is bad and bad is good, scorn for the oppressor, robust vocabulary against sell-outs, respect for each other, humour, creativity, double meanings, strong words, hyperbole, and deliberate vulgarity. He however, notes that not all oppressed groups use slang. This study also confirms that slang is also utilised by youth who are not oppressed, in order to construct youth identities through styling language.

Identity formation is one of the key drivers of youth language and culture, and authors such as Hurst (2009) Mugaddam (2015) and Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997) all identify identity creation as one of the functions and practices of youth varieties. Marcia (1980) sees the teenage years as a time when questions of self and personal identity assume tremendous importance. Dovchin (2011:317) notes that youth are becoming the majority in cities across the globe and this growing population is positioned within the global cultural flows. Valentin (2008:94) posits that if we read the city as a context for social action we are able to examine the specific conditions under which different generations of young people grew up and how they are formed as both individuals and categories. Bosire (2006:192) suggests that the current urban youth identifies as: ‘a global urban ethnicity – the urbanite: sophisticated, street smart, new generation.’ Dovchin (2011:316) says: ‘in urban spaces, young people create their identities not only through social institutions such as the family or school, but also through frequent exposure to media and technology, or to constant multicultural and multilateral interactions.’

The media and technology are the carriers of popular culture. Pennycook (2003) advises that popular culture should be taken seriously because it is producing new identities through transgressive and performative acts. Bennettt (2000:27) argues that young people use popular culture as a resource on which they construct their own meanings and identities. Youth identity is expressed through popular music as well, as Dovchin (2011:326) avers: ‘The various mixtures of languages and images embedded in popular music texts are a

means of negotiating the ever-changing identities in the modern world'. Storey (2003) identifies popular culture as the root of cultural identities and notes that these identities are not the expression of our nurture but are rather formed through the performance in culture. The youth perform aspects of their culture including language, and they at times do this by opposing set social norms and languages. Pennycook (2007:6) proffers the transgressive theory as a framework for understanding youth practices and identity creation through breaking pre-defined, pre-decided and fixed rules, and going beyond distinct categories or established thoughts so as to mix elements, or transcend their boundaries and limitations.

Youth identity is also characterised by style as espoused by Sultan, Dovchin and Pennycook (2013) in their study of the influence of the Gangnam style in Bangladesh. Youth in Bangladesh stylise aspects such as space, dance, language, music and clothing to form an urban identity characterised by global cultural flows. Pennycook (2003: 527) argues:

Performativity looks at the identity that is created within the performance and questions pre-defined and pre-determined identities. People use language varieties, not because of who they are, but rather perform who they are by using varieties of language. This means it is not so much whether or not one is born in a particular type of community but rather what one does with the language.

S'ncamtho qualifies as a performance as the speakers use it to perform who they are, (re)create their identity by performing the variety.

Performativity creates identifiable youth speech communities. Gumperz (1972) defines a speech community as a group of speakers who share rules and norms for the use of a language. However, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464) suggest the: 'importance of practice in delineating sociolinguistically significant groupings', as the definition of a speech community overlooks social relations and differentiation. In performing youth varieties the youth create identities based on communities of practice. Wenger (2007:1) avers that: 'communities of practice are formed by people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain of human endeavour: a tribe learning to survive, a band of artists seeking new forms of expression, a group of engineers working on similar problems, a clique of pupils defining their identity in the school.' Communities of practice are human aggregates who are passionate about a particular domain and they interact regularly to do and learn it. With the advent of technology and social media it is now possible for youth to interact across physical space using cyber space and this increases the contact and widens the communities of practice.

Practice is important in delineating youth identities. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464) demonstrate how communities of practice relate to institutions such as family and work, and how practice creates social identities such as gender and class. Wenger (2007:1) states that:

A community of practice is not merely a club of friends or a network of connections between people. It has an identity defined by a shared domain of interest. Membership therefore implies a commitment to the domain, and therefore a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people. You can belong to the same network with someone and never know it.

A community of practice is based on a shared practice. People come together due to a shared domain and they develop a shared repertoire of resources. In the case of urban youth the shared practices include, linguistic, performance, stylistic and leisure resources. Wenger (1998) links communities of practice to how human aggregates come together to learn, look for meanings and negotiate social identities. Eckert (2000) connects language variation to social practice and qualifies youth varieties as language variation according to practice. Mendoza-Denton (2014) looks at Latina youth gangs and concludes that their use of language is an instance of cultural practice which creates gang identities through language styles. Similarly, Quist (2008) identifies youth languages as multiethnolects and links them to stylistic practice in Norway, while Doran (2004) in his study of youth varieties in suburban Paris describes them as a form of identity practice.

2.5.3 Gender and youth languages

Gender differences in language use have been studied in Europe and America by researchers such as Cheshire and Trudgill (1998) and Coates (2004) and they all raise the claim that there are both masculine and feminine sociolects. Flexner (1975) and Jespersen (2013) also claim that men use more slang than women. Gomaa (2015) in his study of the frequency of use of Saudi Youth Slang (SYS) finds out that men frequently use the variety more than women. Youth languages are also gendered like their matrix languages. May and Janschewitz (2008:271) assert that: ‘gender plays an important role in swearing, as boys and girls are socialised differently.’ Slang has been known and associated with swearing and women’s participation has been viewed with suspicion (Coates 2004). Calteaux (1994:161) says of South African varieties that ‘youth varieties are mostly used by young men known as *amagents* ‘the gents’. Although women sometimes use it, it is usually used by women of low repute, or those who work in shebeens’. It is believed that if women use slang, they are hiding some clandestine activity.

Mate (2012:124) states that the use of street names for young women may be seen as objectification, but, if names for men are also considered it can be said that these are categories that reflect emerging subjectivities stemming from consumerism and related sexualities. For example, the S'ncamtho term *umahotsha* 'penis sucker' is viewed as objectifying women as it portrays them as objects of sex. However, Mate (2012: 126) avers 'the fact that youth lyrics are banned for objectification of women raises more questions than answers. Objectification is about women who are rendered passive because they are defined and talked about in endocentric ways. Yet, urban grooves songs show women who talk back.' This analysis of youth language in the urban grooves genre of music in Zimbabwe is evidence that youth languages spread to females.

Researchers over the years have confirmed that boys use more vernacular than girls, as cited by Pooley (2000) and Armstrong (1998). In his study of Saudi Youth Slang Gomaa (2015:102) observes that:

The gender main effect indicates a significant difference in the familiarity of SYS between men and women as shown in the higher total mean of men ($x=3.98$) than that of women ($x=2.72$). Therefore, men tend to have a slightly higher familiarity with Saudi Youth Slang than women.

However, Pooley's (2000) study on French reveals that non-French girls speak more of the youth language than non-French boys. Eckert (2000) also notes that girls at times lead in the use of a vernacular. Woolard (1997) avers that gender differences in adolescent language depend on differences in peer group structure. She notes that boy networks are loosely knit compared to girl networks and that closely knit networks result in more slang.

De Klerk (1992) has shown that there is growing use of taboo vocabulary among female South African youth. While youth languages such as Tsotsitaal are reportedly male youth language practices, Ntshangase (2002) notes that female youth in the townships of South Africa use youth languages and tsotsitaal has spread from males to females in Soweto. Rudwick et al (2006) see tsotsitaal as a context-dependant sociolect among women. They further view the use of tsotsitaal by women as a way of achieving equality and freedom in relation to men, and Rudwick (2005) notes that in Umlazi, South Africa, female youth adapt to the urban variety just as well as their male counterparts. Maribe and Brookes (2014:202) note:

Although women are not part of these male street-corner groups, a small number of young women hang out together on the township streets, particularly near the taxi rank. These are both heterosexual and lesbian women's groups. Lesbian women

sometimes join male street-corner groups for short periods of time. During these exchanges they engage with the boys using some of the tsotsitaal lexicon to demonstrate a streetwise township identity and camaraderie with the boys.

Women are beginning to assert themselves in youth languages and one of the dynamics investigated in this study is the spread of S'ncamtho to females.

It is possible that female youths use more slang euphemisms than their male counterparts. Lakoff (1975) cited in Fasold (1990) points out, for example, that for the most part, women are not expected to use 'strong' expletives, such as "damn" or "shit," but are encouraged to substitute for weaker ones like "oh dear". The avoidances are usually metaphoric, they use a vehicle concept to express a tenor. This research goes further to evaluate the influence of these youth euphemisms on the Ndebele language in both rural and urban areas in a gendered perspective. The research relates youth varieties to *hlonipha* language. Finlayson (2002) argues that *isihlonipha sabafazi* is Nguni which means women's language of respect and is a subcategory of the respect system of some Southern Bantu language communities, such as *isiXhosa*, *isiZulu*, *isiNdebele* and *Basotho*. Dowling (1988:6) notes that males exert the use of *isihlonipha sabafazi* by women in Xhosa to maintain dominance over women. She further suggests that *isihlonipha* persists into a woman's old age. Finlayson (2002:286) avers that *isihlonipha* is affected by urbanisation and urban women may be less affected by *hlonipha* rules, or may use borrowings from English, for example, to meet the avoidance rules. In this way *isihlonipha* may contribute to women leading in vernacular usage in urban areas. S'ncamtho and other tsotsitaals in South Africa and Zimbabwe could be useful for *isihlonipha*, because they provide relexicalisation, and synonyms that could be used for avoidance.

Males and females have been seen to use youth sociolects for different reasons. On the reasons for using Saudi Youth Slang, Gomaa (2015) found out that both men and women use it out of the desire to be humorous. However, he notes that men go on to use it out of peer pressure and for teasing, laughing at and insulting. The dimension of peer pressure is important to youth languages as peers try to assimilate the social style in these varieties, and in the process they help spread the varieties. Men appear to be more affected by peer pressure as compared to women and this is one of the attributed reasons why men use S'ncamtho more than women in the data.

2.5.4 Age and youth language practices

Language variation is related to age variations. Kerswill (1996) notes that children aged 6 to 12 move away from being influenced by their families and assume a position in society whereby they are influenced by their peers at school. The pre-adolescent stage marks the beginning of a move from parent-oriented to peer-oriented networks. It is within these peer networks that youth languages are innovated. Gomaa (2015) researches the youth language of Saudi Arabia, which he calls Saudi Youth Slang (SYS) and identifies correlations between age, familiarity and the frequency of usage of SYS. On age and familiarity to SYS Gomaa (2015:101) discovers:

A strong negative correlation existed between age and familiarity of SYS ($r=-0.659$, $p<.001$). Accordingly, the younger the participant, the higher the levels of his/her understanding of SYS. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that when he/she moves out of the realm of adolescence, his/her familiarity with SYS will be more or less lost.

Androutsopoulos (2005:1500) suggests that the frequency of vernacular features in late adolescence varies in relation to particular areas of vocabulary. Romaine (1984:106) also points out that ‘the younger the speaker, the greater the use of the more stigmatised features’. De Klerk (1992) observes an increase in the use of expletives between 12-17 years in South Africa especially among boys. Scholten (1988) and Armstrong (1998) concur that there is an increase in vernacular variants from late childhood to early adolescence followed by a decrease from late adolescence to early adulthood. Nassenstein (2016: 242) argues that:

Youth language practices in urban Africa reveal a high degree of ‘globalised fluidity’, which means that speakers’ mindsets are oriented toward other practices that are negotiated on a much broader level, such as through social media (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Viber), in music (Reggae, Hip Hop) and movies (Hollywood, Nollywood, Bollywood), and often bound to patterns of high mobility. This explains why speakers’ repertoires are organised differently from those of older speakers who do not have access to the same resources and practices.

S'ncamtho is spread more through youth programmes on the radio, social media, Kwaito and House music and the mobility of speakers. Young people dominate social media and they belong to Facebook and Whatsapp groups which use S'ncamtho. They access songs and videos on YouTube where musicians and actors use S'ncamtho. Adults tend to prioritise social media less, and this creates age disparities in S'ncamtho, although urban adults appear to be more up-to-date than their rural counterparts because they have access to more social media in comparison with rural adults.

2.5.5 Education and youth languages

While S'ncamtho is predominantly a spoken code, it is beginning to spread to written forms as it is used in plays, songs, adverts and internet pages. Malimabe (1990) identifies tsotsitaal in standard written Tswana and in the speech of secondary school pupils as an indication of shifting domains and an impact on education. On the other hand, Hurst (2017) indicates that any effort at systematically incorporating AUYLs in classrooms teaching material will require standardisation which may conflict with the ephemeral status associated with youth varieties.

Dictionaries are one of the methods of standardising languages. Once a word is in the dictionary, it can be used with authority (Hadebe, 2002). Youth languages and slang have been an object of lexicography although at a partially academic level; Ehmann (1996) did a dictionary of urban slang for German and Goudaillier (1997) did a similar project for French. The Ndebele dictionary has included a few S'ncamtho metaphors and this trend is common in lexicography. Molamu (2003) provides a lexicographic compilation of tsotsitaal in South Africa, focusing on the Sophia town variety that borrows heavily from Afrikaans. Unlike tsotsitaal, S'ncamtho does not have its own dictionary and this lack of written authority on the variety helps create the ephemeral quality associated with youth varieties.

However, dictionary editors are adults who use their assumptions to exclude the majority of popular S'ncamtho terms. Hadebe (2004:90) avers that 'what has now been described as user needs in Ndebele, are in fact assumptions by dictionary editors.' Some researchers on Ndebele lexicography indicate that the inclusion of the few S'ncamtho terms in the dictionary could have been wrong, based on the ephemeral nature of slang. Ncube (2005:302) states that 'there is a big chance loan words such as *ishamari* 'mistress' which are actively used today may not stand the test of time. The reason for this is that some words are introduced into the lexicon of a language for the sake of style.' However, when written down, the terms cannot be forgotten and the ones chosen for the dictionary are chosen after frequency counts and familiarity tests. Hadebe (2002:124) avers that 'any dictionary compiler is caught in this dilemma where words are coming into the language while others are falling out. The big question on the dictionary maker is the timing when a new word should be included in the dictionary.'

Regarding education, Morrell (2002) probes urban youth languages and the Hip Hop culture in America and suggests that in the USA it is difficult to teach the youth without using their culture and languages due to the

popularity of these varieties. Morrell (2002) has even proposed the infusion of youth culture and language in the school curriculum, and he started by introducing Hip-Hop music in high school poetry classes. Merchant's (2001) research on the language of London teenage girls in internet chatrooms indicates that their variety is impacting formal school English in England. The association and use of youth varieties in the composition of popular music and social media creates a platform and springboard for youth varieties to spread, and with increased communication and transport networks the spread is rapid nowadays and is impacting education. Krats (1964) argues that school going children and university students are among the originators, users, and spreaders of youth varieties and the education sector especially at secondary and tertiary levels cannot be free of youth varieties' influence. The creativity of youth exhibited in S'ncamtho and other youth sociolects may be good for the education sector as speakers of these varieties have been reported to be more creative in class than those youth who do not popularly use youth languages (Mutiga 2013).

Media reports in Zimbabwe that are against S'ncamtho words in grade seven examinations, argue that the exam will have an urban bias, to the disadvantage of rural students. However, in his study of the spread of Sheng in Kenya, Githiora (2016) has argued that Sheng in Kenya has expanded into domains such as politics, education, and marketing, and he further notes that the youth variety has spread out of Nairobi into rural Kenya. Kioko (2015:100) similarly argues that:

In terms of spread, Sheng is borderless but still receives many followers in Nairobi and other big towns in Kenya. Its spread to rural areas is profound and its threat to mother tongues and impacts on the socialisation process and formal education grow each day.

Bello (2016), notes that mobile phone language is influenced by slang in Nigerian schools and it is affecting English learning. Many students in urban areas use and own cell phones and they use urban varieties on the phones, a situation that Bello (2016) suggests impacts on their comprehension and use of English and other languages. However, it has not been empirically proven that slang impacts comprehension of languages. Efforts to exclude youth languages from the education system are also recorded in Cameroon where Camfranglais is not allowed in classrooms and at times within school grounds (Stein-Kanjora 2009). However, Stein-Kanjora (2009) advises that instead of abolishing Camfranglais, teachers should teach it so that pupils will be able to differentiate it from standard French. Calteaux (1996) argues that teachers in South Africa need to be sensitised on the roles of tsotsitaals in the students' lives because the children do not use the varieties out of choice. Banda (2000) calls for a shift in the protection of African languages from an English threat to an urban youth varieties threat. He argues that the youth sociolects are competing with African languages in education and they may replace English. However, Webb et al (2010) note that tsotsitaal is already

incorporated in the South African education system.

Like most youth varieties, S'ncamtho is suspected to be responsible for failure in Ndebele as a subject and Ndebele language purists have in the past fought to remove some S'ncamtho lexicon from Ndebele examinations. Tatenda Gumbo of the Voice of America Zimbabwe Online News Platform, wrote on the 31st of October 2013 that a group of Zimbabweans in South Africa were expected to march to the Zimbabwean embassy in that country to protest what they termed fouling language in the year's grade seven Ndebele examination because the S'ncamtho term for prostitute *umahotsha* ('sucker') was used. Momanyi (2009:134) notes a similar case in Kenya regarding Sheng:

Most people in Kenya are of the opinion that this code interferes with standard Kiswahili and hence it has negative effects on formal education. Recently the Standard newspaper (a local daily newspaper in Kenya) took issue with the Kenya Publishers Association where in one of its book exhibitions it declared that it will in future publish books in 'Sheng' (Standard newspaper, 29/9/2006). This led to a wide national outcry because of the effects that this move will have in the education system. While the same Association cautions the youth that this code should only be used in informal set-ups and standard Kiswahili to be used in formal situations, it does not realise the lasting effects this code will have in their lives through publishing.

Sheng in Kenya is used widely and this expanded domain of use affects education. Githiora (2002:175) avers 'About 24% of our respondents aged 11-25 reported Sheng as their street as well as household language. In our research, a number of teachers blamed Sheng for the poor performance or failure of their students in Swahili or other examinations'. The impact of Sheng on education in Kenya leads Momanyi (2009) to recommend further research on the impact of youth varieties on education in Africa.

2.5.6 Youth language and the 'sub-culture'

As indicated previously, urban youth language practices have been associated with criminal activities in the past and their origins traced to prison and criminal argots. The link between youth varieties and lawlessness can be traced back to the American poet Whitman (1885) who observed that slang is the lawless germinal element behind all poetry. The varieties have also been characterised as varieties of resistance by oppressed groups (Dalzell 2010). Halliday (1976) links youth varieties to the anti-culture and anti-society, yet such characterisation can stigmatise youth varieties. This section reviews literature that debates the link between youth varieties and criminality, vulgarity and resistance and how the link affects research on S'ncamtho.

2.5.6.1 Association of youth languages with criminality

Urban youth language practices have been associated with both prison argots and urban criminal gangs. Zungu (1995) asserts that criminal varieties are often brought into South African townships by released prisoners. He identifies prison gangs such as the “Big Five”, “27s”, and “28s” who operated in Johannesburg. However, the criminal varieties spoken by prison gangs are not necessarily the same linguistic object as *tsotsitaal*, but *tsotsitaal* as the language of the *tsotsis* (criminals) is associated with these prison gangs and this has implications for population attitudes towards these varieties. Similarly, in Bulawayo S'ncamtho gangs such as Star Force used the youth variety and terrorised people in the city.

The association of youth language practices with criminality negatively affects female participation in varieties such as S'ncamtho. Females who speak these varieties are often associated with masculine impoliteness and female street criminality which is construed to be prostitution in the majority of cases (Coates 2004). In the case of S'ncamtho in Zimbabwe where lesbianism is criminalised, the variety is associated with the crime of lesbianism (Rudwick, Nkomo and Shange 2006) and this affects females in their familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho as revealed in familiarity and usage data in this research.

There are claims to resistance origins of slang and youth language in anti-societies. Dalzell (2010:11) links the origins of black American slang to slavery and traces the evolution from Creole- vernacular to urban jive. The language changed towards an English structure and in the 1920s and 30s it changed from a rural to an urban code. New Orleans, Chicago, and Harlem were the breeding grounds for the growth of black slang fuelled by jazz. Black American slang is characteristic of the code of the oppressed seeking to vent out anger or hide from the oppressor. Dalzell (2010:6) points out that:

The oppressed in America have been great manufacturers and distributors of new language. Language, especially slang, plays a key role in cultures of resistance [...]. While slang is not always subversive, when employed by an underclass or under culture it can be a witty, humorous, and effective gesture of resistance.

The link to slave resistance has implications on urban youth language research and appreciation in Africa as societies especially adults tend to view these as resistance codes that seek to destabilise the order exhibited by standard and vernacular languages. They may also offer a form of resistance to the legacy of colonialism, particularly colonial languages, in Africa (Kiessling & Mous 2004).

In her study of language use in Kinshasa, Wilson (2015) notes that Kindoubil the UYL, emerged in the Kinshasa metropolis and received the attitudes and associations given to urban vernaculars such as Lingala which is seen as the language of the capitol and associated with thieves, rudeness, force, urban culture, music, urbanity, worldliness and streetwise culture. On the other hand she notes that Swahili is viewed as the language of the rural areas associated with politeness and humility. This research does not base S'ncamtho origins on criminality as Hurst (2015:144) argues that 'the relationship with criminal slang has never been certain (and is hard to demonstrate)'. However, it is clear that the association of youth languages with criminality and resistance has created negative attitudes towards these varieties.

2.5.6.2 Vulgarity in youth language

Youth languages are associated with the sub-culture and resistance, and as a result they are also associated with swearing and insult culture, such as the dozens. The dozens are a verbal duelling game in Black American English similar to what Maribe and Brookes (2014) call *Gwarain* South Africa –a performance genre that plays an important role in male sociability. They note that the genre is used to entertain and amuse. Black American insult games are categorised by Green (2002) into the categories *signifying*, *playing the dozens*, *rapping*, *marking*, *loud-talking* and *woofing*. African American argot has been associated with swearing and insult games by Wald (2012:11) who says 'While "the dozens" is part of the larger world of African American verbal art, poetry and comedy, it is also part of the larger world of combat.' Ndlovu (2015) in his characterisation of insult games in Ndebele *Izichothozo* also identifies them with the youth variety. Androutsopoulos (2005:1500) notes that 'verbal practices such as duelling and teasing reveal differences in the narrative and interactional construction of masculinity and femininity in adolescence'. This association of insult and verbal duelling with males fosters masculinities in youth varieties that result in exclusion and stigmatisation of females in the use of varieties such as S'ncamtho.

Patridge (1933) avers that attitudes towards youth languages and slang differ, some view these as a higher form of creativity in language while some dismiss them as resistance vulgar. Bailey (1985:2) also refers to the vulgarity attitudes towards slang. Mawadza (2000:93) in his linguistic study of Shona slang in Harare has argued that 'for example, slang has often been referred to as "colloquial" and has also been characterised as taboo, vulgar, and derogatory.'

2.5.7 Popular culture and youth languages

Youth languages across Africa and the Americas are known to be actively used in the popular culture that involves popular music such as Rap in America (Dixon et al, 2009), Kwaito in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Mfusi, 1992), Bongo Flava in Tanzania (Englert, 2007, Suriano, 2007), Dancehall (Sibanda, 2016), American Jazz (Dalzell, 2012) and Zim-dancehall in Zimbabwe (Mpofu and Tembo, 2015). As carriers of popular culture, youth languages are widely used in advertising, spreading them to television, radio and the print media. The spread of youth languages also occurs on social media platforms that are accessed by people of different ages, sex and class in society (Githiora 2016). There are some people who do not believe that youth languages can have a lasting effect on conventional languages because they are always a passing phase. However, Momanyi (2009: 132) has noted that in Kenya:

Local TV and Radio stations have also given space to ‘Sheng’ where specific programmes use this code (*ViojaMahakamani*, *Vitimbi* etc). These broadcasts have a lasting linguistic effect on school children and the youth since some of them tend to identify with certain characters in these programmes through the use of this code.

S'ncamtho is also used in some youth radio programmes in Zimbabwe and the effects of the media on Sheng in Kenya are the same for S'ncamtho in Zimbabwe, although Sheng appears to be more developed and stable compared to S'ncamtho.

The use of youth languages in popular culture such as movies and novels may preserve vocabulary terms. Terms may be shared by all who watch movies, read newspapers, magazines, novels, and use social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Whatsapp and the internet. Androutsopoulos (2005:1497) argues that ‘certain aspects of youth language, especially slang innovations, are frequently attributed to mass-media influences; on the other hand, the appearance of youth slang in media discourse is often noted’. Social media, which is called ‘third space’ by Androutsopoulos (2005), has facilitated a rapid expansion of domains and spread of African youth languages. Kanana Erastus and Kebeya (2017:15) aver ‘The place of new media in enhancing the spread of urban and youth languages therefore cannot be overemphasised largely because of instant circulation and feedback on messages shared’. There is a direct relationship between the use of social media and the spread of African urban youth varieties. Kouassi and Hurst-Harosh (2017:65) argue that, ‘the growing number of users of social media in Africa and the simultaneous growth and spread of AYLs appear to be related’. The trend is not different in Zimbabwe where S'ncamtho operates as there has been increased internet and mobile phone coverage in rural areas.

Usage of non-standard youth varieties is increasing across Africa. Mutonya (2008:03) avers that advertisers are increasingly using urban slang and other non-standard forms of Swahili to reach out to a broader audience in the densely multilingual Nairobi. He reasons that the adverts are influenced and in turn influence linguistic shifts in the city, changing people's attitudes towards the urban slang Sheng. Urban youth languages appear to penetrate popular music and advertising and these are the avenues which include other members of the population previously excluded in their usage. Dowling and Grier (2015) analyse the use of African languages and African urban varieties in the advertising industry in South Africa and they observe the popularity of Tsotsitaal in the adverts. They review bank adverts and food outlet adverts, and identify Tsotsitaal terminology and style in the adverts, creating an avenue for youth languages to be used in formal circles. Politicians are also joining the business world and musicians in using youth languages to appeal to young voters.

Youth languages are associated with being cool and stylish hence their use in popular culture. Majors and Billson (1993:9) discuss the idea of "Cool Pose" in black American males as a coping strategy and masking behaviour, which has been exported out of the ghetto into middle class black males. Cool has long been blended into Jazz and other popular music genres in America and the world. The coolness is extended to movies and music. Dalzell (2010:16) argues that African American slang has bonding terms such as home (as used in the following -home girl/boy, *homey*, *homies*) and soul (as used in the following - soul food, soul vile, and soul music). The bonding terms have been used in music and movie themes and titles.

Inyabri (2016) identifies slang and youth stylisation in what is stylistically called *Naija* Afro Hip Hop in urban Nigeria. Hurst (2009) describes the Tsotsitaal phenomenon in South Africa, and notes that Tsotsitaal is a linguistic phenomenon which is inseparable from a style adopted by many youth living in urban townships in South Africa. The style is signalled by the unique and innovative lexicon of Tsotsitaal, and additionally indicated by clothing and other identity markers. Features of the style are 'urban-ness', consumerism (in terms of brand names) and cultural iconography, such as music and sports', including links to Hip-Hop related musical genres such as Kwaito and Spaza rap.

The American Hip-Hop culture has influenced youth cultures and languages across the globe. Androutsopoulos (2007:281) reviewing Hip-Hop in Germany, says that over the last 20 years Hip-Hop has developed from an African-American street culture into a global youth cultural expression, through rapping, graffiti and dancing. These acquire local features as they are adapted to different youth cultures. S'ncamtho is the language of Kwaito music- a genre popular with Ndebele youth. The majority of Kwaito musicians come

from South Africa. Mfusi (1992) notes that: ‘Soweto Zulu slang holds a special position of prestige because of its use in music and urban culture. People from Soweto become trend setters because of the place’s association with Kwaito music and the political movement’. Manase (2011) analyses the aesthetics of Winky D’s Zim dancehall and confirms that he uses Shona and English slang and cites examples such as the lines *Ndinotenderedza madinga sevhiri* (‘I wheel around fools like they are tyres’). Mate (2012) identifies Zimbabwe’s Urban Grooves as a hybrid of US Hip-Hop, R&B, and Rap, as well as Caribbean Reggae and South African Kwaito. He further argues that it is typical ad hoc political activism due to youth exclusion in politics and development in Zimbabwe. He identifies the language used in the music genre as “street Shona”. This study does not follow the argument proffered by Mate that the youth use their varieties and music for protest but rather argues that it is their style.

Englert (2008) discusses a similar phenomenon in Tanzania whereby the youth use the urban language in the creation of Bongo Flava which is also called the music of the new generation. In Englert’s (2006) and (2007) studies of Bongo Flava in Morogoro, a town in Tanzania, he avers that the music is used to create a youthful identity and is inspired by American Hip Hop and Jamaican Dance hall genres. He argues that the genre is not about rebellion only as some scholars would like to believe but it uses creative language to captivate a wide audience. Bongo Flava has spread from Morogoro to other parts of Tanzania and beyond its borders to Kenya and Uganda. The spread of Bongo Flava is an important base for the central argument in this research that S'ncamtho metaphoric language, like Bongo Flava music, are both markers of youth language and identity and they spread to other areas outside the towns where they originate. Clark (2013) also reviews this genre of music popular with the youth in Tanzania and he calls it *Bongoflava*. He says the youth through their slang create a formidable culture in urban areas that has the power to influence many people. Suriano (2007) goes a step further with *Bongoflava* and reviews its impact on urban youth Swahili ‘*Kiswahili cha mitaani*’ (street Swahili). She argues that the street Swahili in *Bongoflava* can also be seen on the media and on the linguistic landscape in Dar es Salaam.

Githiora (2002:174) argues that Sheng is spreading fast due to its qualities such as covert prestige and ‘street smartness’, that are transmitted through popular music. In the case of S'ncamtho, Kwaito music is one of the vehicles that carry it outside Bulawayo location male youth. The use of youth languages in music implies a common understanding among music consumers. Hymes (1972) points out that, members of a society can only use metaphor if they have a shared linguistic competence or a common cultural understanding of a linguistic item. The communicative competence of speakers is very important in the use of metaphors. For people to appreciate music such as Kwaito they need to appreciate S'ncamtho.

2.6 Youth language and language change

Lexical innovations in youth varieties are usually considered unconventional but with time they influence mainstream language forms. Momanyi (2009) notes that the association of youth culture and language with information dissemination platforms such as the press, account for the spread and quasi-standardisation of youth language terminology. Bucholtz and Skapoulli (2009) have argued that a focus on youth in language change investigations is important given that it is they who are often the cultural and linguistic brokers and innovators as families and communities undergo radical change.

While youth varieties can be classified as non-conventional Tort-Donada (2015:577) notes that ‘the “conventional” and the “non-conventional” are from the point of view of knowledge in general, highly complex categories heavily loaded with ambivalence.’ The ambivalence between formal and informal in language creates a situation whereby non-standard varieties such as S'ncamtho can influence change in the vernacular and standard forms of African languages. It is natural for languages to change. Aitchison (2006:18) notes that ‘these days, an increasing number of people accept that language perpetually changes: that butter can be pronounced *bu'er*, that the past tense of take is sometimes *taked*, and that devastated might mean “very unhappy” rather than “laid waste” as in war.’ After borrowing from especially languages of wider communication such as English, African youth varieties in turn may loan these words to standard forms.

Mojela (2002), notes that urban slang has both negative and positive consequences on the development of the vocabulary of standard languages. It appears there is no amount of gate keeping that can totally keep standard and vernacular languages free of their youth varieties. He observes that people often put efforts to prevent slang from entering into the vocabulary of standard languages, but he points out that this is fighting a losing battle as slang terminology grows at an alarming rate in our languages. His ideas are important in the study as they ground the idea that youth languages are forces of language change. While some may find youth varieties to be ephemeral, societies today are affected heavily by the non-formal culture, and slang terms are in some cases overstaying in communities. Ditsele (2014) argues that most black African languages in South Africa are experiencing negative growth yet this situation of decline can be solved by using urban youth varieties such as Sepitori to enrich African languages.

2.6.1 The spread of youth languages

Urban youth are a force to be reckoned with in the transformation of languages in Africa's urban centres, and

their influence can also be seen in metaphorical expressions. Winkler (2007:142) argues that ‘slang often originates in a particular group and then may spread out to parts of the general population...some slang words even become part and parcel of the common lexicon and may no longer be considered slang.’, Bailey (1985) reasons that slang is a valuable testing ground for any theory on the spread of linguistic change especially lexical change. The sections below review literature on the spread of youth varieties firstly from urban male youth to entire urban populations. The last section is dedicated to research that deals with the spread to rural areas and emerging trends of new rural youth language practices.

2.6.1.1 The spread of youth varieties within urban populations

Rampton (2010) considers how youths from heteroglossic urban communities in London developed their codes into languages that are today classified as urban youth languages, and he evaluates the spread of these languages to other age groups and to females. The age and gender dynamics in the spread of youth language practices in London are similar to the spread of S'ncamtho as older and female respondents in the data exhibit this type of spread. Childs and Mallinson (2006) in their study of spoken and online youth language in America, acknowledge that slang terms do spread from the youth to the rest of the community in which they operate. This study attempts to demonstrate that many S'ncamtho words are now known and used by the greater Ndebele urban population. According to Gomaa (2015) urbanites in Saudi Arabia are exposed to Saudi Youth Slang through various urban social functions (such as peer groups, sports activities and university campuses), and most of these functions are present in Bulawayo creating an implication that S'ncamtho may spread in the same way too.

Ugot (2013) in her study of Nigerian students' variety observes that there is a process that is at play in all urban youth languages which she terms “from slang to acceptability”. She argues that the styles in English slang in Nigeria spread to be acceptable outside the student communities. Arua and Alimi (2009) in their study of students' slang expressions at the University of Botswana also come to the conclusion that these slang terms spread out of the university to influence speakers even outside Gaborone. Youth language practices also transcend national borders in some cases. Nassenstein (2016) shows how Yanke the Congolese youth practice is practiced on a Belgian Facebook page. This international character of youth language spread is important in the analysis of S'ncamtho as it helps explain its international links with South African youth language practices. The spread also affects regional spread from urban centre to urban centre.

2.6.1.2 Urban/rural spread of youth varieties

Youth languages have been identified with urban spaces and have been characterised as street languages, township talk and rarely associated with rural areas. However, recent research is beginning to identify youth languages in rural areas either through spread from towns or rural innovations (Hurst 2017, Kioko 2015, Lule 2015 and Blench 2012). Fasold (1990) argues that it is quite often the case that an innovation spreads from a city or large town to another substantial-sized town in the same region, but has no effect at all on speakers in the country side between them. The argument in this study is that the environment today is different from the one described by Fasold, where the distance between urban and rural was wide. Due to increased communication and rapid travel, it is possible that youth varieties now spread quickly from urban to rural areas. Even adults from the rural areas are also affected. This study's main focus is the spread of S'ncamtho to rural and peri-urban centres. Nassenstein (2015) argues for rural AYLP when he indicates that patterns of mobility, accessibility and globalisation have transformed both urban and rural areas in Africa. He further notes that the 'third space' created through the internet platforms have connected the village to the city and enabled youth in the village share everyday activities with their urban counterparts.

The spread of youth languages from urban centres to rural areas is confirmed by Kioko (2015)'s study of Machakos county in Kenya, which is predominantly rural and where the ethnic language is Kamba. He notes that Sheng spreads from Machakos town to the surrounding peri-urban and rural areas and peri-urban areas are impacted more by urban Sheng from Machakos town than further rural areas. Kioko (2015:143) further notes that:

The construction of *Shenginised* Kamba is not entirely from loans or manipulated lexemes involving Kamba, English and Swahili since speakers also show a tendency of borrowing lexemes directly from urban Shengs. This aspect may be associated with mobility patterns, specifically rural-urban circular movements, which have defined the livelihoods of Kamba speakers many of who live in Eastlands, Nairobi.

The borrowing trend in *Shenginised* Kamba resonates with the trend in S'ncamtho, as S'ncamtho borrows from English and Ndebele but has also shown a tendency to borrow from other urban varieties such as South African tsotsitaal and the Shona-based youth variety from Harare.

Human migrations have been credited partly with the spread of African urban youth varieties. Hurst (2017:214) argues that 'while rural-urban migration and resultant multilingualism in urban centres appears to

be at least partly the cause of the emergence of AUYLs, reverse or circular migration from urban to rural areas is credited with their spread'. Namyalo (2010) notes that Luyaaye the youth variety of Uganda is also spreading to rural trading centres through singers and comedians who take their shows to rural areas and through constant movements of the youth from the villages to the towns and vice versa. Communication between Zimbabwean towns and the surrounding areas has improved and this works well for the spread of youth varieties. When the urban and rural cultures meet, they borrow from each other (Ndlovu 2010) and in the process youth languages are exchanged. Hurst (2017:209) states that:

These linguistic styles have been noted in rural areas, apparently spreading outwards from urban centres. Rural centres borrow from urban centres, but also innovate their own styles. Furthermore, urban styles may borrow from rural forms of language, which can provide the opaque qualities looked for in slang terminology, which typically draws on metaphor, euphemisms, neologisms and archaic terms in the formulation of innovative lexical items.

There is a new dimension in African urban youth language research although it has not attracted considerable research yet, and this is the idea that rural people have their own uniquely rural youth language practices. This situation raises the possibility of a rural to urban spread in youth language practices. According to Deumert (2013), urban languages have always drawn from rural varieties as they view rural forms as authentic or deep speech forms. Kioko (2015:119) argues that 'what is commonly referred to as Sheng is purely a complex of highly unstable and everyday-changing urban varieties and rural registers'. Lule (2015) also notes that young villagers do not only borrow youth languages from urban centres but they also create new rural registers that express rural identity, agency and subversive style. Rural people are credited with their own youth languages, a possibility that is central in this research as it identifies some uniquely rural S'ncamtho metaphors. The focus on rural-urban dynamics of S'ncamtho spread and its implications for language change are therefore of key importance for this thesis.

2.7 Conclusion on literature review

Literature confirms that youth varieties utilise metaphor as a key strategy. The linguistic and stylistic processes employed to derive youth language vocabulary have been traced. Previous literature identifies youth and criminal varieties across the globe and it is now clear that the link to criminal origins is doubtful. While youth varieties do not satisfy the category of languages, there are some that are claimed to be operating as mother tongues. From the analysis of definitions and categories, youth languages are not only registers but they can be categorised as social dialects. While research has established the link between popular culture and youth

languages together with various youth language practices, this research seeks to identify the themes that are popular in S'ncamtho metaphors and further characterises metaphor genres in youth languages. The study builds on previous research and goes further to apply qualitative and quantitative methods in measuring the spread of youth varieties from town to rural areas and across demographic variables.

Chapter 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights the research designs and methodologies employed to gather and analyse data to answer the research questions and aims. The chapter gives the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that are employed by the researcher to idealise the problem and phenomena of metaphor and urban youth languages, and their spread across age, gender, and distance, which is social and physical distance. The theoretical and conceptual frameworks are ordered according to priority in the data collection and analysis; first are those that frame metaphor conception and cognition and thereafter those that frame the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo location male youth. Research sites, population samples and research instruments are also discussed in this chapter. The research design and methodology together with the instruments used in the research are all shaped by the fact that the research combined qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analyse the data.

3.1 Theoretical and conceptual frameworks

Researching on metaphor and language change involves effective mapping of cognitive and linguistic phenomena on to social change. This research is informed by the cognitive theory of metaphor as espoused by Skinner (1957), Lakoff, (1993), Gibbs, (1996), Gibbs et al, (2004), Murphy, (1996), Stewart and Barnes-Holmes (2001), and Social Impact Theory as propounded by researchers such as Aronson et al (2007), Harton et al (1998), Bourgeois and Bowen (2001) and Latane (1981). The study measures the influence of S'ncamtho metaphors across Ndebele populations in Zimbabwe. However, to get to the point of measuring the impact and the spread, the study first establishes the existence of themes in S'ncamtho metaphor creation and clearly discernible genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho. Clear categories of S'ncamtho metaphors are important for the study as they add to understanding of language change in the analysis chapters. The first research question to be answered is whether S'ncamtho has clearly identifiable classes of metaphor, and to answer the question, metaphor theory and conceptualisation of metaphor cognition are employed first. After frameworks on metaphor and its cognition are used to frame metaphor in S'ncamtho, a social change theoretical framework and conceptualisation are adopted to help explain the spread of S'ncamtho metaphor and account for the Ndebele population attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and S'ncamtho in general.

3.1.1 The Relational Frame Theory (RFT) in cognitive metaphor analysis

As described in the previous chapter, Reddy (1979) came up with the conduit metaphor theory whereby metaphor is the conduit of thought and words. The schema theory is also central in the development of the cognitive metaphor theory. McVee, Dunsmore and Gavelek (2005:535) argue that ‘schemas highlighted the reciprocity between culture and memory. Schemas were necessary to explain the constitutive role of culturally organised experience in individual sense making’. Schema is central in Piaget (1952)’s structural theory of the origins and development of cognition. In Piaget’s view, cognitive development is an ongoing dialectic in which the individual either assimilates new experiences consistent with existing schemas or changes to accommodate schemas that fit into new experiences. The schema theory, like other theories that link metaphor to the brain, concedes that cognition plays a role in the external function of communication. McVee, Dunsmore and Gavelek (2005:535) in their re-look at schema theories, indicate that the concept of the schema can be traced back to Plato and Aristotle. They generally consider Kant to be the first to note schemas as organising structures that mediate how we see and interpret the world. They go on to give an important observation from Kant where he notes that ‘a schema stood between or mediated the external world and internal mental structures; a schema was a lens that both shaped and was shaped by experience’.

Schema theory does not emphasise the importance of culture. Beals (1998:10) notes that ‘proponents of the schema theory have ignored the influence of culture in the formulation of schemas’. A theory that frames metaphor in youth varieties should take care of thought processes that are influenced and are formulated in an urban “ghetto” culture. In the case of S'ncamtho, culture is very important as the variety is linked and produced in and through the appreciation of urban culture and popular culture. The cognitive theories of metaphor incorporating all sub theories that subscribe to a cognitive linguistic analysis of metaphor are central to the understanding of metaphor in youth varieties and S'ncamtho in particular. Metaphor, especially in youth languages is important, as varieties are formed around metaphor, and thought processes are exploited to the fullest as some of the languages are meant to achieve secrecy, and in some cases, style and urbanity. To achieve the street wise style, urban youth make use of the brain to derive images that express concepts in a way that at times deviates from the base language, which in S'ncamtho is Ndebele. The cognitive theory of metaphor views metaphor as cross domain mappings.

Domains are part of an individual’s imaging of reality. The brain is summoned in metaphor to create these relevant linkages, giving rise to the Relevance Theory of metaphor as being part of the broader concept of cognitive metaphor appreciation. Tendahl and Gibbs (2008:1824) aver that ‘a different perspective on metaphor is offered by Relevance Theory [...] its primary claim is that human cognition is geared to the

maximisation of relevance, such that each act of ostensive communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance'. Both cognitive linguistics and Relevance Theory seek to establish a cognitive approach and interpretation of metaphor. Grice's (1975) theory on relevance in communication emphasises conversational maxims that are followed in communication. However, this study deviates from this Gricean maxim of relevance, because in youth varieties ambiguity is at times prized. Sperber and Wilson (1995:270) aver that communicators choose their stimuli in accordance with considerations of relevance, and stimulus is presumed from optimal relevance. This means the stimulus must be relevant enough to be processed by the addressee and should be the most relevant and compatible with the communicator's abilities and preferences. Jary (1998:4) notes that Relevance Theory employs manifestness to communicate, where an assumption can only be manifest to an individual if they can represent and assess its truth. All assumptions manifest to an individual constitute their cognitive environment. The cognitive framing and cross domain mappings as tenets of the Cognitive Theory of metaphor are used in this research to identify what is truly metaphoric in S'ncamtho and the theory is used to evaluate the domains that cross each other to derive S'ncamtho metaphors.

The initial data of the study is grounded on the Conceptual Theory of metaphor particularly the sub type known as the Relational Frame Theory of metaphor. The relational frame and cross domain mappings in metaphor conception are cognitive strategies that relates concepts and create discourse from the relations. Skinner (1957:93) in his interpretation of metaphor notes that 'when for the first time a speaker calls someone a mouse, we account for the response by noting certain properties-smallness, timidity, silent movement and so on.' Stewart and Barnes-Holmes (2001:192) view Relational Frame Theory as an approach to language and cognition that treats phenomenon as arbitrarily applicable relational responding. They note that:

One example of arbitrarily applicable relational responding is the phenomenon of stimulus equivalence. For example, if a language-able human is taught to match an arbitrary stimulus A to an arbitrary stimulus B and to match stimulus B to an arbitrary stimulus C, then, without further training he or she might subsequently match A to B, B to C (thus showing symmetrical responding), C to A (thus showing transitive responding), and A to C (thus showing combined symmetrical and transitive responding). In other words, the person now treats the three stimuli as mutually substitutable or equivalent.

Stewart and Barnes-Holmes (2001:193) describe how 'Relational Frame Theory uses concepts of equivalence and transfer of function to analyse metaphor conceptually and empirically'. The transfers are made possible through a shared culture whereby speakers understand elements of culture used to map meanings. To interpret S'ncamtho texts as metaphorical, one has to delve into the cultural and discourse intricacies in which the metaphors operate. Koro-Ljungberg (2001:357) advises that 'any metaphorical interpretation is always a value statement and represents an individual's view point controlled by operating discourses once it calls for a

specific understanding of the world instead of something generalisable or predictable.’ To identify source and target features for mappings the interpreter has to understand the culture from which the concepts are born. The urban culture is important in the understanding of S'ncamtho metaphors. Armstrong, Davies and Paulson (2011:160) state that:

Generally metaphor analysis studies include the following aspects:

1. Gather metaphorical linguistic expressions from participants
2. Identify source and target domains
3. Identify source features
4. Map source features onto the target
5. Develop conceptual metaphors based on the resulting mappings
6. Identify entailments of the conceptual metaphor source
7. Identify hidden features of the conceptual metaphor source
8. Identify themes in patterns of conceptual metaphor.

The eight steps above are used in the collection of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo location male youth, the media and social media. The collected texts are subjected to the laid down steps of analysis up to step number eight.

In their acknowledgement of the functional variation of metaphor in social and cultural contexts, Steen et al (2010) argue that linguistic forms maybe the same but function differently across a number of contexts of usage and to individual participants in various usage events. Interpretations from Bulawayo male youth are part of the S'ncamtho metaphor analysis in this study as they understand the urban youth variety more because they live in the city and live the culture. Schmitt (2005:377) argues that:

Naturally, the process of assessment, in being able to see one aspect of metaphor as “highlighting” and another as “hiding”, requires a subjectivity that is able to draw on a culture that has been lived in and is understood. It is therefore dependent on the discriminatory ability of the person undertaking the interpretation.

The relational frames are drawn by Bulawayo urban male youth in the high density suburbs as they are the speakers of S'ncamtho and carriers of the urban street wise style. The Relational Frame Theory of metaphor can be conceptualised in the following schema adapted from Stewart and Barnes-Holmes (2001:195):

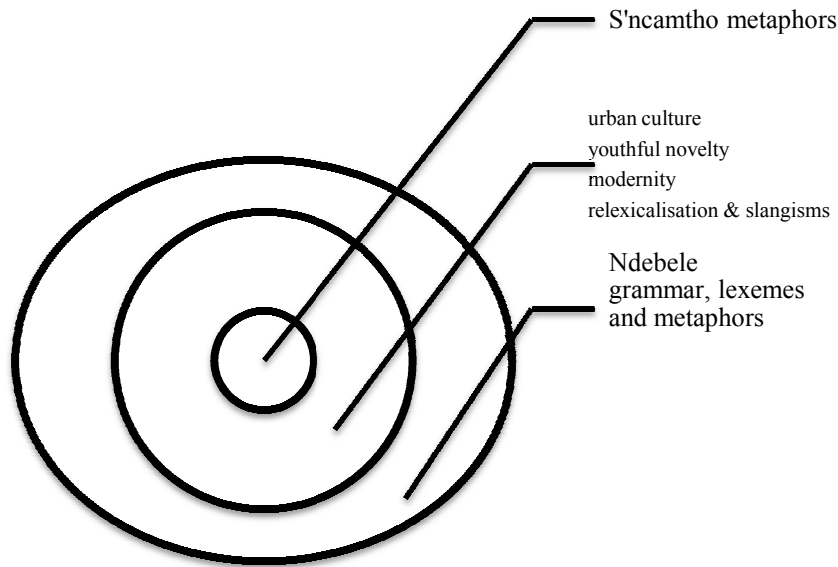
<i>Ismoko</i> ('smoke') is	EQUIVALENT	to	Bankruptcy
Physical choke is	EQUIVALENT	to	Economic choke
They both feed into a common relational frame of INCREASING DESPERATION			

The Relational Frame Theory of metaphor employs the above schema in analysing metaphor whereby a relationship is drawn between two concepts using characteristics of the concepts and the relationship is exploited to derive relexicalisation. The quality of choking in the concept smoke is exploited and related to economic desperation and decrease. Decrease in breathing is related to a decrease in money and general decrease in comfort hence *ismoko* in S'ncamtho means trouble more generally.

3.1.2. Conceptual framework on S'ncamtho metaphor

Metaphor is created from experiences and culture. The urban and rural environments in which Ndebele operates differ in terms of culture and day-to-day experiences, creating cognition and linguistic disparities. Urban male youth from low income families, come together to form survival street corner peer groups (Brookes, 2016), that in a way 'own' urban streets and create an urbanite streetwise culture. The researcher, who is part of the urban and popular culture and formerly aligned to street culture, conceptualises that the urban environment, popular culture and street style, create an urban youth culture from which male youth derive source domains for metaphors. Yet they do not only use the urban culture to derive metaphoric vehicles, but they also use novelty and youthful innovativeness to create S'ncamtho metaphors as demonstrated in the data chapters. The researcher's conceptual framework on S'ncamtho metaphor creation is exemplified in figure 3a below:

Figure 3a: Creation of S'ncamtho metaphors from a nexus of Ndebele language and urban youth creativity



The matrix language for S'ncamtho is Ndebele as it provides the grammar, words and some metaphors. Ndebele words are re-lexicalised and urban youthful novelty is applied to Ndebele to produce the typically urban and stylish metaphors popular with urban location male youth.

3.1.3. Social Impact Theory (SIT)

After S'ncamtho metaphors are collected and analysed cognitively and linguistically using the Relational Frame Theory, three types of S'ncamtho metaphor emerge from the data. They are ordered such that they are easy to understand for respondents, being grouped according to type and function. The three types are tested on Ndebele populations for familiarity and usage.

The guiding theory in evaluating the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors is Social Impact Theory and its modification, Dynamic Social Impact Theory (DSIT). Latane (1981) propounded Social Impact Theory from the background of social psychology, and he defines social impact as any influence on an individual's feelings, thoughts, or behaviour exerted by the implied, imagined or real presence of others through their actions. In his theory, he tries to characterise ways by which people affect each other, and he notes that the effect is determined by time, space, and is moderated by strength, immediacy and the number of the affecting sources. Since it was developed, Social Impact Theory has been used to model diverse situations of social processes. Latane and Darley (1970) apply it on the social diffusion of responsibility, while Latane, Williams and

Harkins (1979) apply it to social loafing. Jackson and Latane (1983) model it around stage fright, while Latane and Wolf (1981) apply it to the phenomenon of persuasive communication. The mathematical quality of the theory has seen it being used as the basis for computer simulations of language change by researchers such as Nowak et al. (1990) and Nettle (1999). Nettle (1999:100) avers that 'Social Impact Theory was developed as a meta-theoretical framework for modelling situations where beliefs, attributes or behaviours of an individual are influenced by those around him'. The theory has also been used by Latane and Nida (1981), and Latane and Wolf (1981) to model social psychology phenomena.

The development of urban youth varieties is part of language and cultural evolutions which all human aggregates go through. Hudson (1996), highlights that languages are evolving populations of linguistic items. This includes words and all other isolatable elements of a language. Social Impact Theory is premised on models of cultural evolution. Early models of cultural evolution by Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981) and Boyd and Richerson (1985) are inspired by theories of population genetics where language variation is likened to genetic variation. The cultural evolution theories developed to incorporate imperfect learning as an explanation for language variation, and this position is espoused by King (1969), Andersen (1978), Ludtke (1986), and Lindblom et al. (1995). There are several explanations for language variation and Nettle (1999:97) identifies two mechanisms for language variation, which are imperfect learning variation, and performance variation. He reasons that:

Variations due to imperfect learning will normally stay with an individual for his entire life and be produced on every occasion. Performance variants may be one-offs, which would make them much less likely to be adopted into the language, though they may recur in the speech of several individuals or on several occasions if production constraints favour them.

Youth innovations are performance variants as they originate from youth slang that is at times spontaneous and meant to achieve style. However, some of these innovations are favoured by production constraints and they become part of the speech of a larger group.

According to Aronson et al (2007), Social Impact Theory is a framework that premises social influence on three main pillars which are; human group's importance, human group's immediacy, and the group's size. They argue that Social Impact Theory predicts that conformity will increase as the strength and immediacy increase. A group can be important in terms of social class or social and economic status. The more important the group is to us, the more likely we are to conform to it. Argo et al (2005:209) echo Latane (1981)'s words when they note that 'people are impacted by the real, implied, or imagined presence or action of a social

presence of a person or group of people'. They aver that the impact is from three "social forces" which are:

1. Social size of the group, which is the number of people in the group
2. Immediacy, which has to do with proximity
3. Social strength of the group, which is the group's importance

Importance and social strength of a group is also influenced by influential individuals within the group. Brookes (2016) calls these influential individuals 'social actors'. Youthful social actors are prevalent in the media, music industry, sports and politics. The theory frames the argument on the impact of S'ncamtho in Ndebele society with regards to metaphoric expressions. Improved communication and transport networks has increased immediacy, the association of youth varieties with popular culture has increased the importance of urban location youth, and the number of users has increased over the years.

Social Impact Theory has been applied to education and learning, Harton et al (1998) apply Social Impact Theory on learners and discover that when students discuss their answers with their neighbours, their answers usually change. Bourgeois and Bowen (2001) note that immediacy is a key component of Social Impact Theory, and in their findings, people are more influenced by those closer to them than by those who are far. They note that individuals in a person's circle or around a person have an impact on them. The youth population of persons below the age of 24 years is the largest in Zimbabwe, with those from ages 0-14 years being 37.8% of the total national population and those the age cohort 15-24 years being 21.29%⁷. In the city of Bulawayo, the trend is not different from the national figures as the combined population of persons from 0-24 years is 77% of the city's total population⁸. Hart et al (1999) have argued that both majorities and minorities can be sources and targets of social influence. In Social Impact Theory, a local majority can be a global minority.

Immediacy has been theorised to mean physical closeness. Keller (1994) argues that individuals acquire their language norms from just a few immediate neighbours in a spatially organised population. In his model, he does not take into account the influence of information technology and improved transport networks that create many "neighbours" by reducing physical distance. However, Harton and Bourgeois (2004:44) reason

⁷Available: http://www.adeanet.org/min_conf_youth_skills_employment/sites/default/files/u24/Zimbabwe%20Country%20Report_0.pdf [2017, October 8]

⁸Available: https://www.unicef.org/zimbabwe/Bulawayo_Province.pdf [2017, October 8]

contrary to Keller and include social space into the concept of immediacy:

Influence will also increase as a function of closeness in physical or social space, or immediacy. Immediacy includes proximity, but is broader than mere closeness. For example, a person in a rural area may live a half mile from neighbour Jones and a full mile from neighbour Smith. Smith may in fact be high in immediacy, however, if the road to her house is easier for the person to travel than the road to Jones is.

They further advise that geographical features such as mountains and water bodies and social features such as different languages and worldviews affect the ease of communication and ultimately the influence. This reasoning fits well in conceptualising the spread of S'ncamtho, as improved communication and transport networks ease communication and increase the sources of impact. However, different worldviews as seen between rural and urban dwellers, young and old, male and female, and language purists and liberals, may impede the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors.

Social Impact Theory as applied by Nowak et al. (1990) postulates that traits that a person acquires are close to those of the social group around that person, and there is a complex function that allows for the differential influence and different source. The influence comes from differential proximity of different sources in the social structure and the number of sources. Latane (1996:13) adds the bidirectional effect of social impact to Social Impact Theory and conceptualises it as Dynamic Social Impact Theory, when he avers that 'Dynamic Social Impact Theory is based on a view of society as a self-organising complex system composed of interacting individuals each obeying simple principles of social impact'. He further proffers five propositions and six derivations from Dynamic Social Impact Theory as represented in Table 3a below.

Table 3a: Latane (1996)'s propositions and derivations on the Dynamic Social Impact Theory

N ^o	Derivations	Propositions
1.	The number of people located at any given physical distance from an individual should increase in approximate proportion to that distance.	Individuals differ
2.	Influence will be inversely proportional to the distance between people.	Individuals have relatively stable locations in space.
3.	People will become more similar to their neighbours, leading to spatial clustering.	Social influence is proportional to a multiplicative function of the strength, immediacy, and number of sources.
4.	As a result of clustering, attributes will become correlated.	The iterative, recursive outcome of individual influence process will lead to the global self-organisation of socially influenceable attributes and the emergence of group-level phenomena.

5.	Since minorities are necessarily more exposed to opposing influence than majorities, they will typically decline in numbers except to the extent that they can be protected by clustering.	Social influence will be incremental for unimportant issues, catastrophic for important ones.
6.	Incremental influence processes will lead to convergence; nonlinear influence processes (chaotic processes) will lead to continuing diversity.	

The derivations and propositions are a frame for explaining language evolution in the form of spread to other social groups and the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors can be conceptualised using the derivations and propositions. The conceptualisations and derivations introduce the idea of mutual beneficiation in the process of social impact, and this explains the phenomena whereby urban youth varieties spread to rural areas and in turn benefit from rural youth varieties. Closeness is not the only factor in the social impact matrix, there are various values that build on to the persuasive and supportive forces of those being impacted. Learners of a variety are also influenced by social and functional biases. Nettle (1999:99) argues that:

There are two possible sources of such a bias. One is social; the learner may favour the speech of some individuals more than others, and so, if socially influential people are from time to time the bearers of new variants, transmit those variants. The other is linguistic or functional; certain linguistic variants may have some functional attribute which makes them easy to acquire or use which favours their adoption over their competitor variants.

In the youth context, some social actors are more socially influential (Brookes, 2016). At the functional level youth languages are not very difficult to acquire as compared to argots which are designed to be secretive.

There have been quantitative efforts at calculating social impact using mathematical formulae. Kaur et al. (2012:315) have come up with a mathematical formula for the total societal impact (I) and they note that it is 'the difference between the persuasive impact (I_p) of those individuals who hold the opposite opinion and the supportive impact (I_s) of those individuals who hold the same opinion'. Bhondekar et al. (2011:70) view Social Impact Theory as a dynamic framework that is based on four assumptions which are:

1) *Two-state elements*: The model belongs to the category of cellular automata consisting of individuals, each holding one of the two opposite opinions and is therefore binary.

2) *Disorder and random strength parameters*: Each individual is characterised by two random strength parameters, namely persuasiveness and supportiveness. These parameters are responsible for the determination of effectiveness of an individual to interact and influence others to change or conform to their opinion.

3) *Social space*: Each individual is characterised by a location in social space such that each pair of individuals is

characterised by a distance. Interactions between individuals tend to decrease with this distance.

4) *Social impact*: Individuals are assumed to modulate each other's attitudes. The total impact I is the difference between the persuasive impact (I_p) of those individuals who hold the opposite opinion and the supportive impact (I_s) of those individuals who hold the same opinion. I_p and I_s as defined in (1) and (2),

$$I_p = N_o^{1/2} \left[\sum \left(p_i / d_i^2 \right) / t_o \right] \quad (1)$$

$$I_s = N_s^{1/2} \left[\sum \left(s_i / d_i^2 \right) / N_s \right] \quad (2)$$

Where, p_i is the persuasiveness of source i , s_i is the supportiveness of source i , N_o is the number of sources (individuals with an opposing view), N_s is the number of individuals sharing the individuals view and d_i is the distance between the source i and the recipient. Usually, the individuals' opinions are modulated by comparing the total impact I against a preset threshold.

The formula takes note of persuasive and supporting forces and the number of sources, and theorises that social impact is the difference between total persuasive force and total resisting force to social change. Nowak et al. (1990:364) explain that:

Social Impact Theory concerns the magnitude of impact that one or more people or groups (sources) have on an individual [...]. One part of the theory deals with how much impact is experienced by an individual as a function of the strength, immediacy, and number of sources of impact. According to the theory, impact is a multiplicative function of three classes of factors: $\hat{i} = f(SIN)$, where \hat{i} denotes the magnitude of impact, f denotes a function, S the strength of the sources (e.g., their authority or power of persuasion), I the immediacy of the sources (e.g., their closeness in space or time), and N the number of sources.

The research does not strictly apply the mathematical formulas of social impact because the study does not measure the actual impact, but the formulas are useful for the qualitative analysis as they demonstrate how social impact operates. S'ncamtho competes with other variants in Ndebele society, the greatest competitor being the language that provides S'ncamtho with a grammar which is Ndebele. Persuasive forces of S'ncamtho and Ndebele are at play and people choose S'ncamtho if it exerts more pressure on them than Ndebele. There are other languages such as Shona and Kalanga where S'ncamtho operates, and for it to spread, its speakers should offer more influence and social impact than speakers of other languages and youth varieties. In some cases S'ncamtho competes with English and Shona-based urban varieties and its social impact has to be more for it to compete and impact society more. Nettle (1999:101) considers:

The case of a linguistic item where there are two competing variants in use in a population, p and q . The learner is exposed

to speakers using each variant in his social group. However, in arriving at the one he finally adopts he will be influenced by the number of speakers having each variant, and who those speakers are.

He creates a formula for the impacts of variants p and q , for impact p he came up with the formula:

$$\hat{i}_p = b_p f(S_p D_p N_p)$$

\hat{i}_p - impact of variant p

b_p - constant used to represent any acquisitional bias for or against p

f - function to be specified

S_p - status of individuals using variant p

D_p - users of variant p 's social distance from learner

N_p - the number of users of variant p

The formula for the competing variant q he puts as: $\hat{i}_q = b_q f(S_q D_q N_q)$, the variety that has superior indices on the variables of (SDN) has more impact on learners. The assumption is that the learner will adopt p if $\hat{i}_p > \hat{i}_q$ and q if $\hat{i}_q > \hat{i}_p$. The formula is not applied to calculate the actual impact in this study, but is used to exemplify how variables work to influence speakers to choose a variety over another. LePage (1968:192) discusses social selection of a language variety and says each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified with. LePage's claim is used to explain why the youth tend to follow peer group languages, and S'ncamtho is acquired from peers among other agents of S'ncamtho spread.

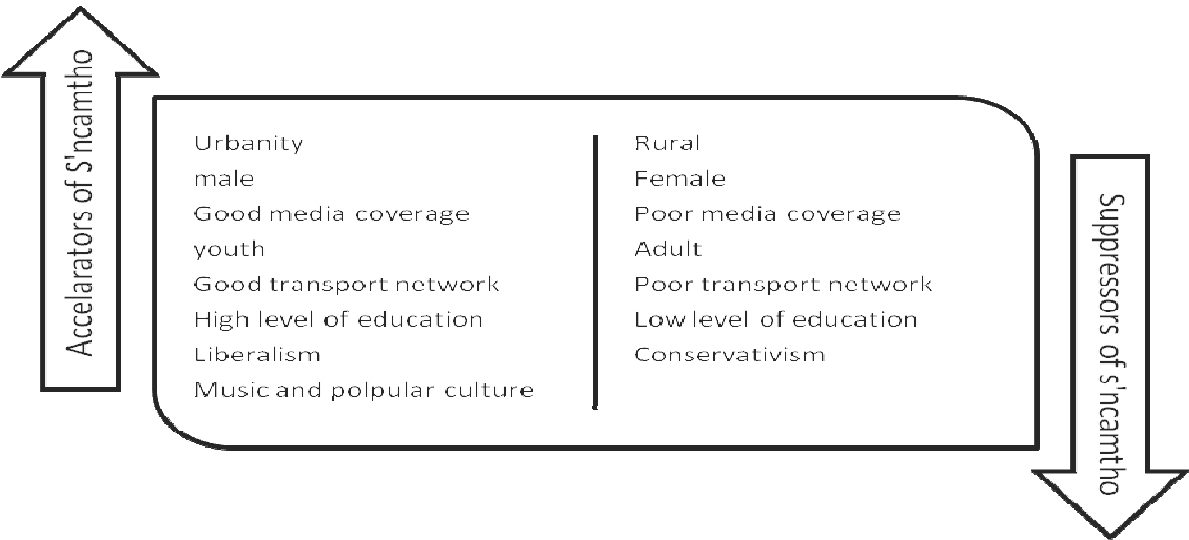
3.1.4 Conceptual framework on the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors

The Ndebele community has been a conservative one when it comes to language, but increased education levels and an increase in the urban population has seen liberalism affecting many Ndebele speakers across gender and age. The researcher conceptualises that S'ncamtho metaphors spread from location male youth in Bulawayo, to areas around the city and ultimately out of the city to peri-urban and subsequent rural areas. The study is structured on the frame of spread from urban location male youth right up to adult rural females. Reichel and Ramey (1987) define a conceptual framework as a set of broad ideas and principles gathered from relevant fields of inquiry that are used to structure presentations.

Based on the review of literature such as Lakoff (1975), Grossman and Tucker (1997) and Mate (2012) the conceptual framework notes that there are accelerators and moderators of the spread of S'ncamtho, for example, that the variety is still associated with urban crime and lawlessness hence people use it unconsciously, and that given a chance in their conscious mind, most females and adult men are bound to deny and condemn the use of S'ncamtho. The conceptual framework on the spread and acceptability of S'ncamtho metaphors is one of the guiding tools for the structuring of the research. Guba and Lincoln (1989) see a conceptual framework as a research tool that assists researchers to understand research situations and present findings. They note that it has the potential to assist a researcher to interpret findings, and sets the agenda for what is scrutinised and tested after investigation. The conceptual framework as motivated by the literature review identifies male, youth, urbanity, education, the media, social media, improved communication networks, improved transport networks, and urban youth style as accelerators of the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors. On the other hand, the frame conceptualises adulthood, rural, female, language Puritanism, low levels of education and image protection, as moderators or opposing forces to the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors.

The conceptual framework is based on previous research that identifies accelerators and moderators of youth varieties. Momanyi (2009), Mutonya (2008) and Githiora (2002) opine that Sheng in Kenya developed in towns and spreads to rural areas through the media, and they note that educated youth develop more slang. Grier (2015) observes that in South Africa, youth varieties are being promoted through adverts. Coleman (2010) makes a similar observation. Aitchison (2006) reasons that as people grow older, they tend to abandon slang and swearing. The conceptual framework on the spread and acceptability of S'ncamtho metaphors is exemplified in Figure 3b below.

Figure 3b: Conceptual frame on accelerators and suppressors or moderators of S'ncamtho spread



The concept of the spread of S'ncamtho, which is the same as the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors, depends on the scale between motivators for support and persuasion. Suppressors of S'ncamtho work to promote support for Ndebele and the accelerators work to persuade one to adopt and use S'ncamtho over Ndebele. The accelerators represent S'ncamtho social impact while the suppressors work for Ndebele social impact.

3.2 Research Design and Method

The evolution of languages over time is a complex change process that poses problems of comprehension and measurement. Nettle (1999:95) points out that 'the historical evolution of languages is a complex process, and it would be desirable to have quantitative models of how it works, so that we can make general predictions about its dynamics'. In metaphor research Armstrong, Davies and Paulson (2011:160) warn:

It is important to intentionally build in a triangulation step in the overall study design. Depending on how metaphors are gathered-whether elicited, spontaneously generated within an interview or observed-this triangulation may take a number of different forms and can be included at various points throughout the data collection and analysis processes.

This study adapts the descriptive survey design and quantitative data is also employed in data collection and analysis. A research design is defined by Kombo and Tromp (2006) as the structure of the research and shows how all aspects of the research work together to answer the central research question. Orodho (2003) sees a research design as the scheme, outline or plan used to generate answers to research problems. The study is designed as a combination of a descriptive research design and quantitative analysis. The quantitatively aided descriptive survey design is important for this study because the objectives of the study seek to describe S'ncamtho metaphors, their usage, spread and population attitudes towards S'ncamtho. The study also deals with the influence of different cultures in the formulation and comprehension of S'ncamtho metaphors. According to Orodho (2003) the descriptive survey design can be used when gathering data on people's attitudes, opinions, habits and other social issues. The descriptive survey is factored into the research design for this study, to structure data collection on attitudes, opinions and speech habits that affect S'ncamtho metaphors. The study seeks to also establish the degree of relationship that exists in the familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors between variables of age, sex, level of education and location. Such variables and their correlation are catered for by factoring in the quantitative analysis to facilitate measurable comparisons.

The study employs the mixed methods research as it combines both qualitative and quantitative methods. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007:112) assert that ‘mixed methods research (also called mixed research) is becoming increasingly articulated, attached to research practice, and recognised as the third major research approach or research paradigm, along with qualitative research and quantitative research’. They further trace the history of mixed research to early philosophical debates on singular and universal truths and balances of the two extremes. They locate mixed research between the extremes of Plato’s quantitative research and the Sophists’ qualitative research in a manner that respects both while seeking a workable middle solution to problem solving. They view mixed research as Aristotle’s “golden mean” or principle of balance, also realised as moderate scepticism.

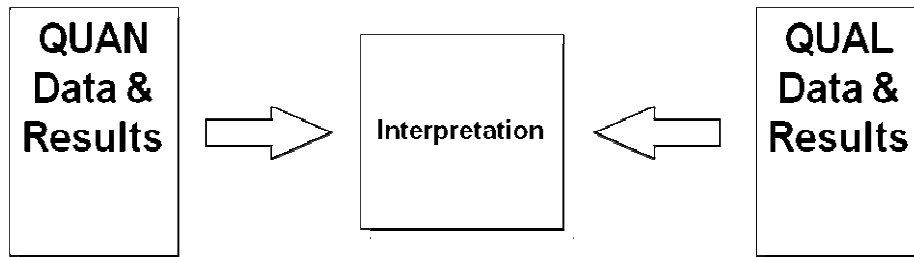
Combining research methods is a type of research triangulation. Webb et al (1966:3) coined the term triangulation and reasoned that ‘once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes’. Denzin (1978:291) views triangulation as ‘the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon’. He describes four types of triangulation:

- (a) Data triangulation (i.e., use of a variety of sources in a study), (b) investigator triangulation (i.e., use of several different researchers), (c) theory triangulation (i.e., use of multiple perspectives and theories to interpret the results of a study, and (d) methodological triangulation (i.e., use of multiple methods to study a research problem).

Morse (1991) divides methodological triangulation into two types which are simultaneous and sequential methodological triangulation. In simultaneous methodological triangulation qualitative and quantitative methods are used simultaneously while in the sequential triangulation of methodology the results of one method are necessary for the next method. The study employs more the simultaneous type of methodological triangulation although there are cases where quantitative data is sequentially used in qualitative analysis.

Rossmann and Wilson (1985) give three reasons for combining qualitative and quantitative research, the first one being that the combination enables confirmation or corroboration of each other through triangulation. The second reason is that combinations are used to enable or to develop analysis in order to provide richer data. Lastly, combinations are used to initiate new modes of thinking by attending to paradoxes that emerge from the two data sources. The data and its analysis follow the concurrent mixed method design as espoused by Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) in their concurrent mixed method triangulation design as in Figure 3c below.

Figure 3c: Concurrent mixed methods triangulation design.



Sticking to one method does not give a balanced check in some types of data and it is important to mix methods. The data from questionnaires and tests is quantitative and that from interviews, focus group discussions and observations is qualitative. This explains why the study employs a combination of methods. Questionnaires were initially used to collect S'ncamtho metaphors from township male youths. A sample questionnaire is replicated in appendix A. A second set of questionnaire was used for idiom tests, which included sections on attitudes, as reflected in the sample in appendix B. Semi structured interviews were used to identify S'ncamtho metaphors and to solicit attitudes on S'ncamtho, with samples of both reflected in appendices C and D.

Data from the collection of metaphors is quantified, to enable frequency counts. Metaphors with the highest frequencies are used on spread tests. Qualitative metaphor analysis methods, participant observation and interviews on feelings, attitudes and worldviews on the spread, form the qualitative part of the research that compliments the quantitative data for verification and complementation. Schwandt (2000:210) notes that:

All research is interpretive, and we face a multiplicity of methods that are suitable for different kinds of understandings. So the traditional means of coming to grips with one's identity as a researcher by aligning oneself with a particular set of methods (or being defined in one's department as a student of "qualitative" or "quantitative" methods) is no longer very useful. If we are to go forward, we need to get rid of that distinction.

The data on the spread and use of S'ncamtho also includes analysing texts that have S'ncamtho metaphors using the cognitive metaphor analysis framework. The texts include adverts and songs, and the qualitative and interpretive approach is used to analyse the metaphors to determine their impact on Ndebele. Armstrong, Davies and Paulson (2011:153) identify two methods of metaphor analysis. They call the first method metaphor checking which they liken to ethnographic member checking because it provides an opportunity for the researcher and participants to thoroughly discuss and examine metaphors observed during data collection in order to establish a shared understanding of the underlying conceptualisations. The second method, useful in settings when interaction with individual participants is limited and metaphor checking cannot be as easily

implemented, combines thematic analysis and extensive field based observations with the metaphor analysis for purposes of triangulation.

3.3 Research sites

Physical sites for the study were chosen to answer research questions on the availability of distinct genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho and their spread to environs outside Bulawayo high density urban areas. Bulawayo high density sites are important for both identification of S'ncamtho metaphors and the spread measurements. The familiarity and usage tests were then taken to a Bulawayo urban low density site. The testing on familiarity and usage was done on three peri-urban sites and three rural sites as well.

3.3.1 Urban sites

Urban sites were sampled in Bulawayo, divided into two sites for the identification of S'ncamtho metaphors and measuring the spread to populations within the city. Four areas were used to collect metaphors- three high density areas and a taxi rank. The three high density areas in the city which were used as sites to collect S'ncamtho metaphors from urban male youth are Nkulumane, Makokoba and Pumula South high density suburbs. The areas were chosen because of the prevalence of unemployed youth in the areas and the prevalence of Street Corner Peer Groups (SCPGs). The three areas are also characterised by a vibrant taxi business and S'ncamtho is prevalent in the taxi business. Godini taxi rank in the city centre is where people from around the city and taxi crews meet. To test the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors in the low and high density suburbs of Bulawayo, Pumula North was used as a high density site and Hillside as the low density site. Two churches were cited for observations on the usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Bulawayo urban, one in Pumula North and one in the city centre.

3.3.2 Peri-urban sites

Three peri-urban sites outside Bulawayo were used to test the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors. Table 3b below gives the three areas and their characteristics which justify their choice.

Table 3b: Peri-urban sites and their characteristics

No	Peri-urban site	Characteristics
1.	Solusi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 53 km from Bulawayo to the west• Narrow tarred road• Electrified, piped water• Reliable television, radio and phone network• Languages spoken; Ndebele and Kalanga• Urban type high density housing• Economic activity: farming
2.	Lower Gwelo	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 200 km from Bulawayo to the North East• Wide tarred road• Electrified, piped water• Reliable television, radio and phone networks• Languages spoken; Ndebele and Shona• Urban type high density housing• Economic activity: farming, fishing
3.	Maphisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 200 km from Bulawayo to the South• Wide tarred road• Electrified, piped water• Reliable television, radio and phone networks• Languages spoken; Ndebele and Shona• Urban type high density housing• Economic activity: mining, gold panning, farming

3.3.3 Rural sites

Three rural sites outside Bulawayo were also used to test the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors. Table 3c below gives the three rural areas and their characteristics which justify their choice.

Table 3c: Rural sites and their characteristics

No	Rural site	Characteristics
1.	Inyathi	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 90 km from Bulawayo to the North• Narrow tarred road• Electricity and piped water at the shopping centre not in homes• Reliable television, radio and phone network• Languages spoken: Ndebele• Rural type housing• Economic activity: subsistence farming, gold panning
2.	Brunapeg	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• 230 km from Bulawayo to the South West• 150km wide tarred road and 80km of gravel road• Electricity and piped water at the shopping centre not in homes• Non reliable television, radio and phone networks• Languages spoken: Ndebele and Kalanga• Rural type settlement• Economic activity: subsistence farming and gold panning

3.	Donsa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 220 km from Bulawayo to the North East • 160km narrow tarred road and 60km gravel road • No electricity and piped water in both shops and homes • Non reliable television, radio and phone networks • Languages spoken: Ndebele • Rural type settlement • Economic activity: subsistence farming
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Three church services constituted research sites for observations in rural sites and these were done in Donsa so as to check on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors in church services in rural areas. Churches were chosen as they are associated with solemn and formal usage of language.

3.4 Population and sampling

The study had the initial problem of delimiting the concept “youth” as it is not an easy concept to delimit and define. Youth populations are important in the study as it is based on metaphors used and spread by the youth. The delimitation of age cohorts was guided by the UN, AU and Zimbabwean Policies on youth. The study divided the population of key respondents into three age groups which are: 15-25 youth, 26-36 young adults and 37- 65 adults. The adult age limit is 65 years because the oldest respondents were 65 years. To ensure uniformity in the population of key informants, none were professionals and none had gone beyond the ordinary level of education (fourth year of secondary schooling). Only taxi drivers, security guards, vendors and touts were allowed in the population of key informants since these are low income and nonprofessional jobs and some are self-employed.

3.4.1 Sampling for identification of S'ncamtho metaphors

Expressions were categorised as S'ncamtho based on identification of the metaphors by male youth in high density areas. This relates to the literature which suggests that this is the core group of users/innovators. The metaphors were verified as S'ncamtho through testing and confirmation from three township youth in Bulawayo. In all the three locations, focus group discussions were used to classify expressions as S'ncamtho. The researcher also has insider knowledge and experience in all S'ncamtho, slang, urban vernacular Ndebele and standard Ndebele and this intuition was useful in categorising expressions as S'ncamtho. To identify S'ncamtho metaphors, the researcher used purposive sampling to identify ten male youths in each suburb of Nkulumane, Makokoba and Pumula South, to fill in questionnaires. From each group a further five were

purposively sampled for a focus group discussion and a further two from each of the three areas were purposively sampled for interviews.

3.4.2 Sampling for the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors

In collecting the data for the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors, a purposive sample was taken from each research site by age group. The key informants were asked to fill in questionnaires testing familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors and their attitudes towards the use of S'ncamtho. Table 3d below gives the profiles and samples for the key informants.

Table 3d: Profiles for key informants

Site	Youth		Young adults		Adults		Total sample
	male	Female	male	Female	Male	female	
Pumula North	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Hillside	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Solusi	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Maphisa	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Lower Gwelo	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Inyathi	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Brunapeg	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Donsa	5	5	5	5	5	5	30
Total	40	40	40	40	40	40	240

The age groups that guided the categorisation of youth, young adult and adult are; 15-25 years, 26-36 years and 37-65 respectively.

3.4.3 Sampling for attitudes and professional usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

To test the attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and their use in professional environments a sample of professionals was added to the sample of key informants. Professions that were found in both urban and rural populations were purposively chosen as the study compared urban and rural samples. The professionals chosen were teachers, nurses and pastors because they are found in both urban and rural areas. Broadcasters and journalists were added as they impact on language use by both urban and rural people through radio and television. Two of each in the professions of teaching, nursing and pastors (one male one female) were sampled from Bulawayo to fill questionnaire tests and five were sampled for interviews. Professional informant questionnaires and interviews were distributed across the three rural areas to two teachers from

Brunapeg, two nurses from Inyathi and one pastor from Donsa. There was one pastor in the rural area sample because there were no female pastors in the rural areas. All professional informants were above the thirty seven year mark and were all in the adult category. Six broadcasters from the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) were sampled to fill in test questionnaires, three were interviewed and five were engaged in a focus group discussion. Five journalists from the Ndebele newspaper *Umthunywa* filled in the test questionnaires and two were interviewed.

3.5 Research instruments

The research used primary sources for data collection. In the collection of primary data, research instruments were used to collect the data. Adverts and songs were also used as primary sources in the data. To gather S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo male youth, the study used questionnaires, interviews, undisclosed nonparticipant observations, participant observations and focus group discussions. To test the spread, test questionnaires and interviews were used. To solicit for attitudes and feelings, questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions were used.

3.5.1 Questionnaires and questionnaire tests: appendices A and B

Ten male youth from each high density area of Makokoba, Nkulumane and Pumula South filled questionnaires demanding S'ncamtho metaphors along given themes. These were administered by the researcher and were all returned, giving a total of thirty questionnaires to identify S'ncamtho metaphors. The methodology of the research is guided by Nippold and Taylor (2002:384) who note that: 'In recent years, researchers have examined with keen interest the development of idiom understanding in youth'. They developed a methodology for testing idiom knowledge and comprehension. In their study, Nippold and Taylor (2002: 386) note that 'the participants were asked to perform three tasks in the following order: Familiarity Judgment, Idiom Comprehension, and Transparency Judgment'. Lincoln and Guba (1985) confirm that metaphor checking is a technique which can be used to ensure the accuracy and reliability of a metaphor researcher's interpretation. Questionnaires were distributed to check on metaphor comprehension, attitudes and usage. The questionnaires were administered by the researcher and research assistants and follow ups were conducted, to make sure they were all returned. Most of the questionnaires were filled as the researcher waited. The number of questionnaires filled is captured in Table 3e below.

Table 3e: Questionnaires filled to test spread and attitudes

Respondents	Number of questionnaires filled
Key informants	240
Nurses	4
Teachers	4
Pastors	3
Broadcasters (ZBC)	6
Journalists (<i>Umthunywa</i>)	5
TOTAL	262

A total of 262 questionnaires were distributed to both key informants and professional informants to check their understanding and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. The questionnaires requested that the respondents fill in their attitudes, metaphors they use in their line of duty and give other S'ncamtho metaphors that were not part of those listed in the questionnaire.

3.5.2 Interviews

Structured interviews were used to collect data in the three sections of data collection which are identification of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo location male youth, spread of S'ncamtho metaphors and attitudes towards S'ncamtho. In each of the areas- Nkulumane, Makokoba and Pumula South-two interviews were conducted with male youth who did not fill the questionnaires, to collect S'ncamtho metaphors and urban male location youth attitudes towards S'ncamtho. Ten interviews were conducted with the professional informants, five in Bulawayo: two teachers (one male one female), two nurses (one male one female) and one pastor (female). Five interviews were done with professionals in rural areas, Inyathi two nurses (one male one female), Brunapeg two teachers (one male one female) and Donsa one pastor (male). Three interviews were done with broadcasters from ZBC and two with journalists from *Umthunywa* bringing the total number of interviews to twenty one.

3.5.3 Focus group discussions

Focus group discussions were used to verify S'ncamtho metaphors collected from Bulawayo male youth. Five Bulawayo male youth members from each group that filled questionnaires in Nkulumane, Pumula South and

Makokoba were used for focus discussions to verify S'ncamtho metaphors. It was thought most appropriate to do this as they are the speakers of S'ncamtho. They also discussed S'ncamtho spread and people's attitudes on urban youth languages. Chomsky (1988) avers that an appropriate method to describe the variation in acceptability judgements is by using the subjective intuitions of native speakers of a language. Other focus group discussions were conducted with broadcasters and journalists on the use and attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors. Armstrong, Davies and Paulson (2011:153) argue that:

Qualitative approaches to metaphor analysis are most effective when an intentional plan for triangulation is built into the research design. To enhance a researcher's interpretation of linguistic metaphors and their entailments, it is necessary to have a system in place for verification.

The focus group discussions were used in the study as a check mechanism to verify data from questionnaires, observations and interviews.

3.5.4 Observations

Undisclosed nonparticipant observations were used to collect S'ncamtho metaphors from Godini taxi rank. Observation is a data collection tool in qualitative research where by the researcher gathers data by observing informants. Armstrong, Davies and Paulson (2011:156) argue that:

Not all research settings or designs enable researchers to have an extensive one on one interaction with participants for the metaphor checking procedures. Therefore, observations of discourse communities in action through qualitative methods and subsequent metaphor analysis may also be used to triangulate findings.

Participant observations were also done with interviewees to collect and check metaphor knowledge and to solicit for their attitudes. Five nonparticipant observations were done in two churches in Bulawayo city, two churches in Brunapeg rural area and one church in Donsa rural area to check on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors in their services. In all five cases the preachers were in the adult category and in Bulawayo one of the preachers was female.

3.5.5 Intuition

The researcher is a mother tongue speaker of Ndebele, the S'ncamtho base language and is conversant to some level in S'ncamtho. This inherent knowledge brought in intuition as a research instrument. Chomsky (1988), notes that this research tool emphasises on the mentally represented linguistic knowledge that a native speaker of a language has. McEnery and Wilson (1996:6) describe it as 'conscious introspective judgements'. Kadenge and Mavunga (2010:9) note that 'introspective judgements are the best tool for measuring a speaker's competence'. Betsch (2008:4) defines intuition as:

A process of thinking, the input of this process is mostly provided by knowledge stored in long-term memory that has been primarily acquired via associative learning. The input is processed automatically and without conscious awareness. The output of the process is a feeling that can serve as a basis for judgements and decisions.

The weakness of this research tool is that it is subjective. However, in this study subjectivity was checked by using other tools to verify the data. Introspective judgements of other people were also used in interviews and focus group discussions. It is important to note that the researcher is male and this could have been a limitation in soliciting S'ncamtho fluency from female respondents as some could have opted to profess ignorance to S'ncamtho because of gender stereotypes on youth varieties.

3.6 Data analysis

The data is analysed by respondents and thematically. The first theme to be analysed is the existence of S'ncamtho metaphors and their cognitive and linguistic analysis, using data from Bulawayo high density male youth. The analysis then addresses the theme of the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors and the respondent data considered is from key informants. The last theme to be addressed is the attitudes, feelings, and the impact S'ncamtho metaphors have on Ndebele and at this level the respondent data analysed is from professional respondents and texts from the media, linguistic landscape and music. Microsoft packages of Microsoft Word and Microsoft Excel are used in the storage, presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data.

3.7 Conclusion

The research is a triangulated design that employs mixed research methods, as the data requires both quantitative and qualitative methods. Data is first collected from Bulawayo location male youth to determine whether S'ncamtho has distinct metaphor genres. Questionnaires, interviews, observations and focus group discussions are used to collect this data. The collected metaphors are administered to informants as questionnaire tests to measure the spread. The study is premised on the Cognitive Theory of metaphor and the spread of S'ncamtho metaphor is framed around the Social Impact Theory. The chapter outlines methods and samples that derive the data used in chapters four, five and six. Chapter four addresses the genres of S'ncamtho metaphors and their cognitive and linguistic analysis. Chapter five addresses the question on the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo location male youth, and chapter six analyses data that addresses questions of attitudes, feelings and the impact S'ncamtho metaphors have had on Ndebele and the society of Ndebele speakers in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4 IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERISATION OF METAPHOR IN S'NCAMTHO

4.0 Introduction

Youth varieties the world over are characterised by their heavy use of metaphor although other scholars have argued that all languages are characterised by heavy use of metaphor. Halliday (1976:578) observes that 'It is this metaphorical character that defines the anti-language. An anti-language is a metaphor for an everyday language; and this metaphorical quality appears all the way up and down the system'. It has been a fact of youth language research over the years that there is a lot of metaphor in these varieties and previous researchers such as Chesterton (1901), Horne (2010) and Adamo (2013) have established the occurrence of metaphor in youth varieties. In his analysis of anti-languages, Halliday (1976:579) points out that 'metaphorical entity, and hence metaphorical modes of expression are the norm; we should expect metaphorical compounding, metatheses, rhyming alternations, and the like to be among its regular patterns of realisation'. While metaphors do not define anti-languages, and it is the transgressive practice that constitute anti-languages (Pennycook, 2007), metaphor is one of the main strategies of anti-language. This chapter seeks to identify and characterise S'ncamtho metaphor as a way of answering the research question whether S'ncamtho has clear genres of metaphors.

This chapter analyses data collected for the initial and first part of this research which is the collection of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo male youth in high density suburbs, social media and Ndebele youth music. The chapter analyses S'ncamtho metaphors through linguistic and cognitive analysis, also characterising metaphor in S'ncamtho by themes and genres. Cognitive metaphor theory and linguistic analysis are applied, as metaphor is the nexus between language and the cognitive functions of human beings.

4.1 Chapter data

Research into youth varieties should take note of the fact that these have a high lexical turn over and styles change more rapidly when compared to conventional languages. It becomes important to key most of the data in its context of use, which is in real life conversations by the youth, especially urban high density male youth in the case of S'ncamtho. Halliday (1976:579) notes that:

...to be able to interpret the real significance of an anti-language, we need to have access to its conversational patterns: texts will have to be collected, and edited, and subjected to an exegesis that relates them to the semantic system and the social context. Only in this way can we hope to gain insight into the characterology (to use a Prague School term) of an anti-language – the meaning styles and coding orientations that embody its characteristic counter-cultural version of the social system.

The data analysed in this chapter consists more of observations of real life conversations and interviews with speakers of the variety, while questionnaires were also used to identify and give meanings. As described in more detail in chapter 3, most of the data in this chapter was collected through non participant observation of rank marshals, touts and taxi drivers at Godini taxi rank. Youth in the taxi business in Bulawayo are famous for their urban style and use of elaborate slangisms that constitute the Ndebele youth variety in Bulawayo. A total of 88 metaphors were collected and the collected metaphors were discussed with a group of five male youth in the high density flats of Babourfields in Bulawayo. These males had not participated in collecting the metaphors but they confirmed all the meanings with a few additional meanings on a few metaphors. The chapter thematically characterizes the 88 metaphors and presents 30 for the cognitive and linguistic analysis.

4.2 Thematic characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphor

Youth tend to be interested in certain topics and concepts in life and this creates more metaphor around the areas that are of interest to the youth. The urban style in urban youth languages is created around concepts that define the urban youth, distinct from adults and rural backwardness as it were. The language becomes the medium of expressing topics that are central to urban youth culture. As mentioned in chapter 2, some of the things that are of interest to urban youth are highlighted by Hurst and Buthelezi (2014: 193) and include music, partying, cars, sex and sexuality, love and friendship, money and crime. Some of the metaphors in urban youth varieties are meant to disguise conventional discourse in the base language, so that the groups gain privacy in their communication. In the case of S'ncamtho, one of the groups that uses it a lot comprises taxi drivers and their touts in the various taxi ranks in the city, the biggest being Godini taxi rank. These youth in the taxi industry are always on the lookout and running away from the police because most of their taxis do not have proper documentation and roadworthiness, hence there are many metaphors for law enforcement and crime in S'ncamtho.

It is not surprising that some topics have more S'ncamtho terms than other topics, because the areas that youth talk about more develop more lexicon than those generally considered conventional and formal. Youth

varieties depend on base languages for their morpho-syntactic frame and on source languages for lexis. Hurst (2016:160) argues that ‘in youth talk, metaphor may therefore cluster around a topic which invites relexicalisation or over-lexicalisation’. All the topics identified by Hurst and Buthelezi (2014) are common in S'ncamtho and there is more metaphor activity around these topics.

Characterisation and classification of metaphor has been done by scholars such as Lakoff (1993), Gibbs (1994) Gibbs et al (2004), Lakoff and Turner (1989), Gentner (1998) and Reddy (1979). These scholars have characterised metaphor in conventional languages. Other scholars such as Bembe (2006), Stolt (2010) and Mateveke (2014) agree that slang contributes to metaphor development in conventional languages. Metaphor can be characterised and classified using the source domain and it can also be classified using the target domain. As metaphor is first a mental mapping before it is a figure of speech, it is important to understand it through the themes expressed by the concepts in the metaphors. This chapter reviews S'ncamtho metaphor along prescribed themes and the data that was collected is organised from the point of collection into these themes.

The themes that were followed in data collection are six in total and are hereafter organised in tables from Table 4A1 to Table 4A6. The total number of metaphorical expressions gathered is 88 and the thematic groupings are as follows: 4A1: sex and sexuality, 4A2: music, partying, love and friendship, 4A3: disease, death and excretion, 4A4: crime and law enforcement, 4A5: work, family and school, and 4A6: general talk. The 88 metaphors are distributed into sub-thematic groups as follows; 4A1=19 metaphors, 4A2=18 metaphors, 4A3=12 metaphors, 4A4=16 metaphors, 4A5=12 metaphors, 4A6=11 metaphors totalling 88 metaphors. Tables, 4A1- 4A6 below give the actual S'ncamtho metaphors collected under the six themes, a brief etymology and meaning.

Table 4A1: Sex and sexuality S'ncamtho metaphors.

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
<i>1.ukutshaya inyawo</i>	to hit the legs	having sex (male)
<i>2. i-ake</i>	an arch	round shaped female butt
<i>3. ibhekinafaso</i>	Burkinafaso country in Africa	round female back (from ‘burk’ sound in the name of the country)
<i>4. imanyuwa</i>	manure	anal sex
<i>5. ukukhetsha</i>	to catch	to hire a prostitute
<i>6. ukuhotsha</i>	to suck	to prostitute
<i>7. isidi</i>	CD- compact disk	male condoms (from shape)

8. <i>ukulahla</i>	to throw away	sexually loose girl
9. <i>irobhodi elibomvu</i>	a red robot/traffic light	menstruating girl
10. <i>umtsetse</i>	Shona for a line	external female sex organ (from shape)
11. <i>ifofayifi</i>	a four five	penis
12. <i>inkonkoni</i>	a wildebeest	gays
13. <i>izipoko</i>	ghosts only seen at night	prostitutes (most work at night like ghosts)
14. <i>ubhen'theni</i>	ben ten is a young male cartoon character	a woman's young male lover
15. <i>ifayifiasayidi</i>	five a side (from a soccer match played by ten people five per side the five fingers are the side)	male masturbation
16. <i>isikhumba</i>	skin	vagina (made of skin)
17. <i>ithumbu</i>	intestine	vagina (shape)
18. <i>ikhekhe</i>	cake	vagina (it is cut like a cake)
19. <i>ukusika</i>	to cut a cake	have sex (males)

Table 4A2: Music, partying, love and friendship in S'ncamtho metaphors

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
1. <i>ukunokha</i>	to knock as in engine knock or to be knocked down	to be very drunk
2. <i>umzukululu</i>	niece	girlfriend
3. <i>ziyakhapha</i>	they are removing	enjoyment/good
4. <i>inja yami</i>	my dog	my friend
5. <i>ukufaka ilayini</i>	to put a fishing line	to propose love
6. <i>ukudrowa</i>	to withdraw as in money from a bank	to marry (males)
7. <i>itsheri</i>	cherry	girlfriend
8. <i>umcimbi</i>	scene	function or party
9. <i>igasi</i>	gas	beer
10. <i>inamba</i>	number	song
11. <i>ziyawa</i>	they are falling (songs)	partying
12. <i>ziyakhenceza</i>	they are ringing	being in love (from wedding bells)
13. <i>amancezu</i>	pieces, mixing pieces of lips	kiss
14. <i>isigubhu</i>	drum, from the drum instrument	song
15. <i>amakhekhe</i>	cakes	good things/ it is fine
16. <i>ipantsula</i>	<i>pantsula</i> -dance	a street-wise person
17. <i>ukutshona</i>	to sink	to be financially broke
18. <i>ukurola</i>	to roll (money notes)	to have money

Table 4A3: S'ncamtho metaphors on disease, death and excretion

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
1. <i>amajusikhadi</i>	juice cards for cell phone talk time	anti-retroviral pills
2. <i>ukuklara</i>	Afrikaans to <i>klaar</i> (finished)	to die

3. <i>i-eyitini</i>	eighteen (eighteen years and above are adults it is an adult room)	toilet
4. <i>isitofu</i>	stove (hot)	sick person with AIDS
5. <i>ukuvaya</i>	Afrikaans <i>waai</i> and/or Portuguese <i>vai</i> (to go)	to die
6. <i>isikisinayini</i>	six nine	toilet
7. <i>inambawani</i>	number one	urinating
8. <i>inambathu</i>	number two	defecating
9. <i>ukutshisa</i>	to be hot	to be sick with AIDS
10. <i>ukutshaywa ngamatsotsi</i>	to be beaten by criminals	to be sick with AIDS
11. <i>ukulunywa</i>	to be stung	to be sick with an STI
12. <i>ukutshayisa</i>	to dismiss	to die

Table 4A4: S'ncamtho metaphors on crime and law enforcement

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
1. <i>ihata</i>	a hater	a police officer
2. <i>ukungena'manzi</i>	water has entered your house	to be in trouble
3. <i>ukutshayatsaya</i>	to beat-beat	to cheat
4. <i>ukuyilahla</i>	to lose it (the music tune)	to spoil
5. <i>ukutshaya theninothi</i>	to beat ten zero (soccer score line)	to cheat
6. <i>iwiti</i>	weed	dagga
7. <i>isihlahla</i>	tree	dagga
8. <i>umthunzi</i>	shade	dagga
9. <i>isimoko</i>	smoke	trouble
10. <i>idizola</i>	dissident (rogue soldier)	unregistered taxi
11. <i>itholugethi</i>	toll gate	police road block
12. <i>orobayi</i>	Shona for beaters	police
13. <i>izinja</i>	dogs	police
14. <i>inkamba</i>	camp	police
15. <i>ukudla</i>	to eat	benefiting from corruption
16. <i>ukureyitsha</i>	to dribble	to cheat

Table 4A5: S'ncamtho metaphors on work, family and school

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
1. <i>ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela</i>	to work while crying like a candle	to complain at work
2. <i>ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa</i>	not kept by a job like soap	working under exploitative conditions
3. <i>ukugeleza</i>	to flow	schooling

4. <i>itayima</i>	an old timer	father
5. <i>umaoledi</i>	old lady	mother
6. <i>ideni</i>	den	home
7. <i>ikruthimani</i>	Afrikaans for big man	brother
8. <i>umqambisi</i>	director	teacher
9. <i>is'gela</i>	where we flow	school
10. <i>isidumbu</i>	corpse	copied old assignment
11. <i>isipano</i>	Afrikaans <i>in span</i> for team of for example oxen	job
12. <i>ukuvuka</i>	to wake up early	to be employed

Table 4A6: General-talk S'ncamtho metaphors

S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphorical meaning
1. <i>ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning</i>	family planning hinders population growth	thank you
2. <i>amapatapata awela abangelamazwane</i>	slippers fall on those without toes	fortune favours those who do not need it
3. <i>ukuzifonela</i>	to phone oneself	to be proud
4. <i>ukudlisepa</i>	to eat soap	to be foolish
5. <i>icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina 'mazinyo</i>	it is not only toothpaste that preserves teeth	threat to beat
6. <i>ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka</i>	to be rough like a wooden bed	extremely disappointing action
7. <i>bloma</i>	Afrikaans-stay	stopping or staying
8. <i>zwakala</i>	be felt	come here
9. <i>idiski</i>	disk	soccer
10. <i>gugula</i>	“googling”	search
11. <i>gawula</i>	axing	eating

The tables above confirm that there are themes that are popular among urban male youth and this has been discussed by scholars such as Spears (1981) where he characterises slang into its popular themes and identifies oaths, curses, insults, sexual metaphors, racial slurs, drug talk and homosexual lingo as popular themes in youth languages. S'ncamtho however, also relexicalises in more themes such as partying, love and friendship, work, family and school.

4.2.1 Summary and conclusions on thematic characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors

The number of metaphors collected under each theme can be used as indicators to decipher themes and topics that are important to the urban location male youth, considering that the data analysed so far was collected from Bulawayo location male youth. From the data collected, the highest number of S'ncamtho metaphors falls under the theme of sex and sexuality and the least fall under the general everyday talk. Themes in Tables (4A1-4A6) have varying prominence in terms of the number of metaphors collected.

Youth are sexually active and are in their prime sexuality in the teens and early twenties- this makes sex and sexuality a central theme in youth talk and metaphor formulation. Male youth have many metaphors for sex and girls as they talk about girls and sex a lot. These are topics that are likely to have euphemisms as they border around the obscene and tabooed in Ndebele society. Eckert and MacConnell-Ginet (2003:215) have argued that 'sex and gender are widely available as metaphorical vehicles or source domains, not only for speakers of English, but also for speakers of many other languages'. Music, partying, love and friendship are themes that are linked to sex and sexuality as love is made to girlfriends and boyfriends. Friends are central in parties and it is in these parties that they meet girls, leading to sex. Parties and music often go with beer and drug abuse, inviting the police, thereby making them and the law important topics in S'ncamtho. Sex results in the proliferation of diseases especially sexually transmitted ones that are also tabooed and these are expressed through metaphorical euphemisms to avoid sex related taboos. There are in addition metaphors that relate to work, family and school and these are an indication that S'ncamtho is spreading to domains of use outside the subculture.

4.3 Cognitive frame and linguistic analysis of S'ncamtho metaphors

The 88 metaphors collected have different frequency counts in the data and for further analysis metaphors with the highest frequency count per lexical and syntactic category are chosen. To enable a linguistic analysis, the metaphors are sub divided into linguistic units of noun, verb, phrase and sentences. The total 88 metaphors are characterised according to themes under which they fall. In this section, they are characterised and analysed using the cognitive theory of metaphor, as well as linguistically. The metaphors are first divided into nouns, verbs, short phrases and sentences; under these linguistic categories those metaphors with the highest frequency in the data are selected for analysis to create a reasonable number for the analysis and further testing. The linguistic categories are numbered A1 to A30, totalling thirty S'ncamtho metaphors in the analysis. A1 to A7 are noun metaphors in S'ncamtho, A8 to A15 are verb metaphors, A16 to A24 are phrase

metaphors and the last group A25 to A30 are sentence metaphors. Out of the total 88 metaphors collected, metaphors that have a frequency of twenty and above in the data are selected per linguistic category. It is important to note that some metaphors have a frequency count of over thirty in the data.

Metaphors are first grouped by linguistic category and then analysed linguistically. After the linguistic analysis, a cognitive mapping is conducted to explain the meaning. Linguistic analysis of metaphor is alluded to by Halliday (1976:578) when he avers that 'there are phonological metaphors, grammatical metaphors - morphological, lexical and perhaps syntactic - and semantic metaphors'. The meaning and the examples that go with each analysis help pin the fields that are used in the metaphors.

Youth languages make use of relexicalisation and semantic extensions in their creation of metaphor and this makes an analysis of the innovated linguistic categories important in understanding youth variety metaphor. The linguistic tendencies employed by youth varieties to create metaphor are explained by Kiessling and Mous (2004:303) when they note that:

Certain strategies of linguistic manipulation are particularly recurrent and dominant in urban youth languages – namely, morphological hybridization, truncation, phonotactic distortions, and far-fetched semantic extensions and dysphemisms. This proves that the linguistic forms taken by anti-languages of urban youth clearly reflect their anti-function, since all of these strategies are manifestations of their speakers' attitude of jocular disrespect and of their readiness to experiment and to take bizarre viewpoints on the world, all of which perfectly well serve the basic function of these youth languages – to distance themselves from the older generation.

The morphological hybridisations, truncations, semantic extensions and dysphemisms are all based on the culture and experiences of location youth in Bulawayo, creating the appropriate culture and experience for the creation of these linguistic but yet, mental symbols of communication. It is the meanings of these linguistic categories that are manipulated most, not their form, and this is done factoring in culture and experience, making metaphor creation a cognitive process.

The analysis employs the cognitive frame used in the generation of meaning in these metaphors; the analysis strives to identify the tenor and the vehicle so that the mappings can be identified for the understanding of the metaphors. Each metaphor is given its literal meaning and its metaphorical meaning which is the figurative meaning so that the frames being compared or juxtaposed are exposed for a cognitive analysis of the metaphors. There are three elements to a metaphor comparison: First, the item you are interested in. In rhetoric, this is called the *primum comparandum*. Second, the item you are comparing the first item to. This is

called the *secundum comparatum*. Then there is a third element which is the element of similarity, the common ground, between the first item and the second item. This is called the *tertium comparationis* (or ground)⁹. In cognitive analysis of all the thirty metaphors chosen for the analysis, the mappings employ source and target domains, vehicle and tenor, cross domain mappings and lastly the *tertium comparationis* which justifies the comparison to elicit the metaphorical meaning.

4.3.1 Noun-lexical metaphors in S'ncamtho

S'ncamtho as a variety that rides on Ndebele language has lexical categories and these apply even in the formation of metaphors in S'ncamtho. There are nouns that are relexicalised or semantically modified, but they remain nouns used to denote objects in S'ncamtho cognition. We find in S'ncamtho some metaphors that use cognitive frame mappings to derive names for certain concepts. Most of the named concepts are in the topics identified as being of interest to the youth. From the data collected and discussions held after data collection, some of these nouns are shared by the entire high density youth, establishing them as noun metaphors of S'ncamtho. Metaphor is important in the naming system of all human languages, as many concepts are abstract and can be comprehended through other less abstract ones. The same applies to naming in S'ncamtho, it employs metaphor to explain, conceal and stylise concepts. Dominant S'ncamtho noun metaphors in the data are represented in Table 4b below and they are numbered from A1 to A7.

Table 4b: Some noun lexical metaphors in S'ncamtho

No	Noun	Meaning	Etymology	Lexicalising strategy	Frequency count
A1	<i>i-ake</i>	woman's butt	from ENG-arch shape	borrowing and relexicalisation	22
A2	<i>imanyuwa</i>	anal sex	from ENG- manure	borrowing and metonymy	20
A3	<i>isidi</i>	condom	from ENG-compact Disc (CD)	borrowing, abbreviation and relexicalisation	28
A4	<i>amajusikhadi</i>	ARVs	from ENG- juice cards	borrowing and relexicalisation	20
A5	<i>ihata</i>	police officer	from ENG- hater ¹⁰	borrowing and relexicalisation	35
A6	<i>i-eyitini</i>	toilet	from ENG- eighteen	borrowing and semantic extension	30
A7	<i>umzukulu</i>	girlfriend	from ND-umzukulu-niece	semantic extension	36

⁹ Available: Style02 <http://www2.anglistik.uni-freiburg.de/intranet/englishbasics/Style02.htm> [2018, July 10]

¹⁰ Available: <http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=hata> . [2016, March 12].

Nouns from the topics that are common in youth varieties like sex, crime and love affairs, scored high in the frequency counts especially in the questionnaires. Questionnaires had sub topics according to themes, and youth filled in metaphor they knew under the topics. The high frequencies are derived from these questionnaires. *Ihata* and *umzukululu* are both above 30 score on the frequency count, *i-eyitini* scores a frequency of 30 and *isidi* is also high on a 28 frequency score. The linguistic and cognitive metaphor analysis of the noun metaphors is outlined below for all the seven in this category. The cognitive metaphor analysis makes use of the mappings, meaning, explanation and at least two context examples from the data.

A1. i- ake

5-arch_{NS}

an-arch

Metaphor- female butt is an arch

Source domain- circle geometry

Target domain- female anatomy

Vehicle- an arch shape

→ Tenor- female butt

Mappings

-circle

→ whole female body

-arch is part of the outside of a circle

→ the butt is part of the outside of the female body

-care in drawing a circle

→ finesse in creating the female figure

-the arch covers the centre

→ the butt covers the genitalia which are focal points for boys

-the curve shape in an arch

→ the curve shape of the female butt

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a shape mapping. The arch shape in circle geometry is similar in form to the arch shape of female buttocks. The primary ontological correlation is the arch image schema.

The arch curve is mapped on to a round shaped female butt deriving the metaphor *ake*. The S'ncamtho pronunciation of the term lengthens the first vowel. Such metaphors for ladies' backsides are common in other youth varieties. Githinji (2008:26) explains that 'From an aesthetic angle, the female words for buttocks like *mafinishings* associates buttocks with the finesse, beauty and completeness, but it can also give the literal meaning of organs that appear at the rear'.

Examples:

a) ***I-ake*** *yirivesi katsheri opakileyo*

'An *ake* is the reverse of a girl who has a big back package' (Questionnaire –Makokoba).

b) *Eish baba le yi-ake yomhlaba*

‘Eish man this is a worldwide *ake*’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A2. i- manyuwa

5- manure_{NS}

a- manure

Metaphor- anal sex is manure

Source domain- animal excrement

Target domain- human sexuality

Vehicle- manure

→ Tenor- anal sex

Mappings

-anal exit

→ anal entry

-movement of faecal matter in the rectum

→ thrusting in anal sex

-faecal matter shape

→ penis shape

Tertium comparationis

The anus is the common organ used in manure excretion and anal sex. Manure is then used as metonymy for anus and the word is relexicalised by association to refer to anus and extended to cover anal sex.

Solid animal waste is manure and comes out through the anus and the manure in the anus is used to refer to sex done through anal penetration. In the data the term is used to refer to gays more than just anal sex. Human waste is conceived as manure and the manure is extended to cover sex done through the anus.

Examples:

a) *Yiwo la amadoda emanyuwa*

‘These are the manure (‘gay’) men’ (Interview-Babourfields).

b) *Abanye otsheri bayayincanywa imanyuwablayindi*

‘Some cherries (‘girls’) like anal sex a lot’ (FGD-Nkulumane).

A3. i- sidi

5- CD_{NS}

a- CD

Metaphor- a male condom is a compact disc

Source domain- music technology

Target domain- reproductive health

Vehicle- compact disc

→ Tenor male condom

Mappings

-flattened shape of a CD	→	flattened shape of a packed male condom
-inserting a CD into a CD player	→	inserting of the penis into the condom
-excitement caused by music	→	sexual pleasure

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a shape mapping. The male condom looks like a CD when packed. The primary ontological correlation is the flattened image schema. Both CD and male condom employ the act of inserting too.

This is derived from the similarity in shape of a packed male condom and a compact disc. In South African tsotsitaal, it is believed that C and D in the word forms **ConDom**. Compact discs are popular with Bulawayo youth as they love music and partying and this aspect of music is used to express a concept in the domain of reproductive health.

Examples:

a) *Isidi yikhondomu yamadoda.*

‘A CD is a male condom’ (Questionnaire-Nkulumane).

b) *Wangena engela sidi kutsheri otshisayo.*

‘He entered a sick girl without a CD/condom’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A4. ama- jusi- khadi

6- juice cards_{CNS}

the- juice cards

Metaphor- anti retroviral drugs are cell phone airtime juice cards

Source domain- phone technology

Target domain- HIV and AIDS

Vehicle- airtime juice cards

→ Tenor- anti retroviral drugs

Mappings

-cell phone	→	human being
-talk time (a phone with talk time)	→	life (a body with life)
-talk time top up vouchers	→	anti retroviral drugs
-buying talk time (recharging)	→	drinking the pills

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an incremental mapping whereby the increase in talk time after juicing the phone is mapped on to the increase in life after taking anti retroviral drugs. Vouchers extend talk time just as the drugs prolong life.

In Zimbabwe, talk-time top up vouchers for cellular phones are called juice cards and people who take ARVs are seen as topping up their lives through the pills. The concept of topping up air time in cellular phone technology is mapped on to HIV and AIDS treatment.

Examples:

- a) *Wonke umuntu useyakwazi manje ukuthi amaphilisi ngamajusikhadi* .
‘Everyone now knows that pills are called juice cards’ (FGD- Makokoba).
- b) *Ungadlali ngamajusikhadi bafo umemba lo wayefile bheka manje*.
‘Do not play with juice cards this man was dead but look at him now’. (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A5. i- hata

5- police_{NS}

a- police officer

Metaphor- police are haters

Source domain- human emotion

Target domain- law and order

Vehicle- hatred

→ Tenor police

Mappings

-emotional torment of a hated person

→ physical torment of a criminal by the law and order enforcers

-haters are the enforcers of hatred
themselves the haters

→ the police enforce law which is hated by outlaws and they become

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The police hate crime, and the youth especially in the taxi industry, make money in most cases by breaking road traffic laws. The police’s hatred for crime is extended to cover hatred for the perpetrators and the police are perceived as haters to the location urban youth. Emotional experiences of hatred are mapped on to physical torment of criminals by law.

The youth, especially those in the taxi industry, are always in trouble with the police. The youth regard the police as haters and a police officer is called a hater. In S'ncamtho, hater is *hata*. The youth use the hatred that exists between them and the police to name the police haters, and the word is changed to fit into Ndebele morphology, the base language, and into the youth style.

Examples:

- a) *Ohata bachithisiwe lamuhla sbali*.

‘Police are harassing today my friend’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

b) *Ihata lipholisa*.

‘A *hata* is a police officer’ (Questionnaire- Nkulumane).

A6. i- eyitini

5- eighteen_{NS}

an- eighteen

Metaphor- a toilet is an eighteen

Source domain- arithmetic

Target domain- scatology

Vehicle- the number 18

→

Tenor- toilet

Mappings

-18 years is the legal age of majority in Zimbabwe → the number is metonymically mapped on adulthood → adulthood is then mapped on to privacy as adults have the right to live a private life → the privacy of adulthood is mapped on to the privacy of a toilet.

-privacy in adulthood → privacy in the use of a toilet

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a continuum of thematic mappings. The primary ontological correlation is the theme of privacy associated with adulthood and scatological functions. A-adulthood intersects B-toilet on the theme of P-privacy and this is the basis for the mappings following the schema $P = A \cap B$.

A toilet is an adult room as young people under eighteen years are permitted to defecate in the bush in Ndebele culture, especially in the rural areas. The association of a toilet with the “No under 18” label, creates the metaphor *i-eyitini* for toilet basically meaning an adult room.

Examples:

a) *Angazi kungani bethi isambuzi yi-eyitini*.

‘I do not know why they call a toilet an eighteen’ (Interview- Pumula South).

b) *I-eyitini yitoilet ngesitsotsi*.

‘An eighteen is a toilet in tsotsitaal’ (Facebook¹¹).

c) *I-eyitini zeCity Hall zisaspana yini jeki?*

‘Are City Hall toilets still functional man?’ (Observation- City Hall rank).

¹¹ Available: <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=ndebele%20slang> . [2016, September 5].

A7. um-zukulu

1- niece_{NS}

a- niece

Metaphor- a girlfriend is a niece

Source domain- kinship

Target domain- love relations

Vehicle- niece

→

Tenor- girlfriend

Mappings

-uncle

→

boyfriend

-niece

→

girlfriend

-intimacy of kinship

→

intimacy of love

-relaxed kinship relations between uncles and nieces in Ndebele culture (they even play lovers teasingly) → romantic love relations with real not teasing love affairs

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an emotion mapping. The playful kinship emotions between an uncle and his niece are mapped on to the romantic love emotion between lovers. It is an analogical ontological correlation between the kinship system of uncle and niece on to love relations of boyfriend and girlfriend.

In Ndebele culture, uncles playfully refer to their nieces as wives and in S'ncamtho, this is used to refer to a real girlfriend. The uncle niece or nephew relationship is characterised by love and playfulness and uncles love nieces and nephews who are both called *abazukulu* in Ndebele. It is the cultural love that has been exploited to name one's girlfriend or any girl *umzukululu*.

examples:

a) *Abazukulu bayinatshi endawo.*

'Girls are plenty in the area' (Whatsapp group chat).

b) *Umzukululu yicherry ngesncamtho.*

'A niece is a cherry/girlfriend in S'ncamtho' (Questionnaire- Makokoba).

c) *Kenje ngumzukululu kamdrayiseni lo?*

'Is this the driver's girlfriend?' (Observation- Godini taxi rank).

The seven nouns above function in S'ncamtho in the category of nouns and noun phrases. However, the nouns do not operate like ordinary literal nouns as mostly found in Ndebele, because they denote one thing using the grapheme of another and the link is derived from the meaning or experiences linking the two concepts.

Langacker (1987:54) argues that all members of the noun class more precisely are instances of an abstract noun schema, and it is this schema that enables lexical flexibility in S'ncamtho noun metaphors.

4.3.2 S'ncamtho verb-lexical metaphors

There are some metaphors that assume the category of verbs in Ndebele grammar, as it is used in S'ncamtho. The verb metaphors are characterised by the Ndebele action marker the class 15 prefix *uku-*. The verbs are also concentrated on topical and trending issues among urban location youth. Most verbs in the analysis are euphemisms for tabooed Ndebele terms. Gambahaya, Kangira and Mashiri (2004:1) say that 'metaphors are used as the substitution for direct words which would have been regarded as disrespectful, offensive or taboo by a cultural group. In other words, metaphors are the vehicles of indirectness, they are used to talk about things in a roundabout manner'. Table 4c below displays eight S'ncamtho verb metaphors and the linguistic and cognitive metaphor analysis follows under the table.

Table 4c: Some S'ncamtho verb lexical metaphors

No	S'ncamtho Verb	Meaning	Etymology	Lexicalising strategy	Frequency count
A8	<i>ukukhetsha</i>	to hire a prostitute	from ENG-catch	borrowing and relexicalisation	20
A9	<i>ukuhotsha</i>	to prostitute	from ND- <i>hotsha</i> -suck	relexicalisation	24
A10	<i>ukulahla</i>	to be sexually loose (girl)	from ND- <i>lahla</i> -throw	relexicalisation	33
A11	<i>ukunokha</i>	to be dead drunk	from ENG- knock	borrowing and relexicalisation	40
A12	<i>ukuklara</i>	to die	from AFK- <i>klaar</i> -finished ¹²	borrowing and relexicalisation	20
A13	<i>ukugeleza</i>	to school/learn	from ND- <i>geleza</i> -flow	relexicalisation	28
A14	<i>ukutshayathaya</i>	to cheat	from ND- <i>tshaya</i> - beat	relexicalisation	20
A15	<i>ukuyilahla</i>	tricky situation	from ND- <i>lahla</i> -lose	relexicalisation	31

Most of the verb metaphors that have high prominence in the collected metaphors denoted sex, crime and topics related to beer and parties. In Table 4c, *ukulahla* for loose girls, *ukunokha* for drunkenness and *ukuyilahla* for a spoiler or bad situation usually involving the police top the frequency count table. The analysis of the verb metaphors in S'ncamtho follows below.

A8. uku- khetsh-a

¹² Available: <http://www.majstro.com/dictionaries/Afrikaans-English/klaar>. [2016, March 12].

15- catch_{VR}-FV

to- catch

Metaphor- hiring a prostitute is catching

Source domain- game hunting

Target domain- prostitution

Vehicle- catch

→

Tenor- hiring a prostitute

Mappings

-game

→

prostitute

-hunter

→

one who looks for a prostitute

-hunting

→

searching for a prostitute and negotiating the price

-weapon of hunting e.g. gun, spear

→

money to hire a prostitute

-catching game

→

reaching an agreement with a prostitute and finally hiring

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The jungle and hurdles experienced by a game hunter are mapped on to the intricacies of negotiating with a prostitute; reaching a deal with a prostitute is mapped on to catching game after the struggles of hunting; and money is the weapon for hunting prostitutes.

Looking for a prostitute is likened to hunting and the English word ‘catch’ is *transphonologised* to Ndebele phonology to be *ukukhetsha*. The image of a hunter and the hunted is used to derive the verb metaphor for a man getting a prostitute. In the schema, it is men who hunt, although prostitutes are the ones who go out in the streets to trade. This image of the hunter being hunted may confirm that S'ncamtho is a predominantly male variety, as women are the ones who trade but the buyer becomes the hunter. This confirms the gendered power dynamics in urban youth varieties.

Examples:

- a) *Ungabona **ukhetsha** umahotsha weManor sufile.*

‘If you get a prostitute from Manor hotel you are dead’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) ***Ukukhetsha** yikuzitholela umahotsha.*

‘To catch is to get a prostitute’ (Questionnaire- Makokoba).

A9. uku- hotsh-a

15- suck_{VR}-FV

to- suck

Metaphor- sucking a penis is prostitution

Source domain- sexual intercourse

Target domain- prostitution

Vehicle- sucker

→

Tenor- prostitute

Mappings

-mouth used to suck juice

→

vagina or anus used to suck the penis of semen

-drinking straw

→

penis

-juice

→

semen

-sucking juice using a drinking straw

→

sex blow job (the juice is also money paid by the man)

-the sucker

→

one who does a blow job on the penis

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The sucking of a straw in drinking juice is mapped on to the sucking of the penis in a blow job. Blow jobs are done by prostitutes for money and sucking is metonymically used to refer to prostitution and the prostitute a sucker.

Prostitutes are described as sucking men of their money, and they are popular for oral sex which is literally sucking the penis. Others feel that the act of having sex with several men is sucking their sperm, hence the metaphor is sucking to replace the Ndebele one which is *ukuwula*. Multiple interpretations for a metaphor can potentially make a metaphor more successful as it means something to more people who hear it, and they can interpret it against their own sense of humour and social experiences. The tsotsitaal term *umahotsha* can indeed be traced to the Ndebele verb *hotsha* ‘suck’ but, Hurst and Buthelezi’s (2014:192) findings on Cape Town tsotsitaal may point to another possible origin of the S’ncamtho term for prostitute *umahotsha*. They suggest ‘*rosha*-prostitute (possibly from Xhosa *ukurosha*- to excite, incite, or arouse).’ It is important to note that the difference is in orthographic representation but the pronunciation of *rosha* and *hosha* is the same [hoʃa], Ndebele is known to replace [ʃ] with [ʔ] among the Nguni languages.

Examples:

- a) *Ungabona ukhetsha **umahotsha** weManor hotel sufile.*

‘If you get a prostitute from Manor hotel you are dead’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Umasalu lo senje! **Ukuhotsha** kakusabhadali shame.*

‘This lady is now like this! Prostitution no longer pays shame’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A10. uku- lahl-a

15- throw_{VR}-FV

to- throw

Metaphor- to be sexually loose for girls is to throw

Source domain- dance

Target domain- sexual behaviour

Vehicle- to throw the thigh

→

Tenor- sexually loose girl

Mappings

-dancing is throwing around thighs

→

having sex for a girl is opening the thighs

-audience

→

multiple sex partners

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor first maps dance moves to throwing around thighs and the throwing is then mapped on to the act of opening thighs for sex in girls. The looseness comes from mapping the size of the audience to the number of sexual partners, the dancer throws his thighs in dance moves to the delight of many spectators and a loose girl opens her thighs to the delight of many sexual partners.

The element being thrown around here is the thigh. It is a shortened version of *ukulahla umlenze* (to throw around the thigh). The metaphor is an affront to feminist studies and activism as only girls are metaphorically represented as loose in S'ncamtho. Jackson and Cram (2003) observe the same in other languages, such as in English slang, sexually active girls are 'loose' while sexually active men are 'studs' which has positive breeding connotations.

Examples:

a) ***Balahlile*** otsheri ekasi.

'Lokshin girls are loose' (Facebook¹³).

b) ***Ukulahla*** ngutsheri othanda amadoda.

'To *lahla* (throw) means a girl who loves men' (Questionnaire- Nkulumane).

A11. uku- nokh- a

15- knock_{VR}-FV

to- knock

Metaphor- to be very drunk is an engine knock

Source domain- automobile mechanics

Target domain- drug/alcohol abuse

Vehicle- engine knock

→

Tenor- very drunk

Mappings

-engine drive

→

consciousness

-engine knock and malfunction

→

unconsciousness in drunkenness

¹³ Available: <https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=lingo%20street%20wear> . [2016, March 13].

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping, whereby the carelessness associated with driving a car without oil or coolant until it knocks, is mapped to the carelessness of alcohol or drug abuse. The image of a malfunctioning engine after a knock is mapped on to the unconsciousness of drunkenness.

This is derived from automobile terminology. When an engine knocks it stops working and this is mapped on to someone who is dead drunk, or failing to walk.

Examples:

a) *Ngiphethe izinja zami, bazosenzani **banokhile** lab'olova.*

‘I am with my friends, what will they do these guys are dead drunk’ (Song YouTube *Izikhothane*).

b) ***Manginokhile** ngiyabe nginathe amahothi wayawaya.*

‘If I am knocked I would have drunk hot stuff none stop’ (Interview-Makokoba).

A12. uku- klar-a

15- finish_{VR}-FV

to- finish

Metaphor- to die is to finish

Source domain- travelling

Target domain- death

Vehicle- finishing a journey

→

Tenor- death

Mappings

-journey

→

life

-traveller

→

human beings

-end of a journey, destination

→

end of life, death

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a progression mapping. The traveller progresses towards the destination just as a person progresses in life towards death. To finish a journey is mapped on to finishing life in death.

In Afrikaans, *klaar* means finished /done as in the saying “finish and *klaar*”. The quality of finished is mapped on to death. When one dies they have finished their task on earth and hence they are done. The use of the Afrikaans word confirms the link between Ndebele and Zulu in South Africa, the term is borrowed from the Zulu based youth variety in Johannesburg; this is more so because most of the youths interviewed had been in South Africa. However, there are other uniquely Zimbabwean S'ncamtho metaphors such as *ukufaka ilayini*,

ukudl'isepa and others from Shona slang such as *umfesi* 'friend' from face and *ukubon'umlilo* 'seeing fire' meaning trouble.

Examples:

- a) *Okuyikhombi kwabo sokuklarile.*
'Their useless kombi is dead' (Observation- Godini taxi rank).
- b) *Ukuklara yikufa kumbe ukuvaya.*
'To *klaar* is to die or go' (Questionnaire- Pumula South).

A13. uku- gelez-a
15- flow_{VR}-FV
to- flow

Metaphor- schooling is flowing

Source domain- hydrology		Target domain- education
Vehicle- flowing	→	Tenor- schooling
Mappings		
-river	→	school
-water	→	pupils
-tunnelled water motion	→	tunnelled progression from grade to grade
-ocean where there is no tunnelled movement	→	employment where there is no grade progression

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a progression mapping. The movement of water in a direction controlled by the river tunnel towards the sea is mapped on the progression in school which is controlled by grades up to employment.

Schooling involves taking grades one after the other and this is likened to flowing. A river flows from one point to another until it finishes flowing at a confluence or delta- schooling takes a similar route up to various examinations. A school is also called *isgela*, short for *isgeleza* the place where we flow. Others think it is derived from the English word 'school' [skul], and voice was added to [k] creating '*isgulu*' which developed to '*isgela*'.

Examples:

- a) *Es'gela s'geleza s'gqok'amaweinbrener.*
'At school we used to school putting on *weinbreiners* shoes' (Song Msheznana YouTube).

- b) *Isigela yisikolo ukugeleza yikufunda.*

‘Sgela is a school and *ukugeleza* is schooling’ (Questionnaire- Pumula South).

A14. uku- tshay-a-tshay-a

15- beat- FV- beat_{CVR}-FV

to- beat beat

Metaphor- cheating is patting/ stroking repeatedly

Source domain- baby care

Target domain- dishonesty

Vehicle- patting repeatedly →

Tenor- fooling

Mappings

-baby →

one being fooled

-crying from a discomfort →

complaints

-patting repeatedly to sleep →

fooling someone convincingly to accept something in spite of complaints

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. Petting of a crying baby repeatedly so that it gets to sleep is mapped on to fooling insistently until one believes the lies of the one fooling them. The state of being calmed or asleep in the case of the baby is mapped on to the state of a fooled person.

To beat repeatedly is taken from the tapping/ cuddling done to children so that they sleep and this is cheating them to sleep so that they do not make noise or cry. When someone misleads you so that you think they are up to good intentions when they mean harm they are doing the deceptive cuddling, what they are saying is a lullaby so that you sleep and they pounce.

Examples:

- a) *Mshana uyangitshayats haya.*

‘Nephew you are cheating me’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *IS'ncamtho lulimi lokutshayats haya.*

‘S'ncamtho is the language of cheating’ (Interview- Pumula South).

A15. uku-yi-lahl-a

15- OC-lose_{VR}-FV

to- lose- it (the music note)

Metaphor- selling out is being off tune/ losing the tune

Source domain- music

Target domain- loyalty

Vehicle- causing discord

→

Tenor- selling out or causing a precarious situation

Mappings

-all singing in harmony

→

all loyal to the deal or secret

-if one loses the key there is discord

→

if one sells out they have lost the key to group loyalty

-singing in discord

→

doing things contrary to a deal creating a precarious situation

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. Losing the tune in music is mapped on to losing loyalty and exposing others in a deal or secret. Discord is mapped on to a precarious situation caused by losing honesty.

This is derived from the musical concept of discord which is losing the key or note. If a person is disturbing a deal or something of that nature, such a person is seen as losing the note and creating discord. Good music maps on to good situations and times.

Examples:

a) *Namuhla **kuyayilahla** ohata bagcwele.*

‘Today its bad news police are all over’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

b) *Asikhulume sodwa umember wami udakiwe **angayilahla**.*

‘Just talk to me my friend is drunk and bad news’ (Interview- Nkulumane).

S'ncamtho verb metaphors can be characterised as verbs by prototypical verb characteristics they possess, yet they map prototypically to the metaphorical vehicles used to derive them. Langacker (1987:54) avers that cognitive psychologists strongly favour categorisation of nouns and verbs by prototypes, where membership in a category is determined by perceived resemblance to typical instances. There is structural, functional, cultural and experiential resemblance in the formation of verb S'ncamtho metaphors.

4.3.3 Phrasal metaphors in S'ncamtho

There are some S'ncamtho metaphors that combine limited syntactic categories to derive short phrases that fulfil the definition of metaphor according to the cognitive metaphor formula. These phrasal metaphors are combinations of nouns, verbs and adjectives to derive a combinational meaning that maps onto another entity that is not directly expressed by the individual words or their literal combinatorial meaning. These are constituent structures that can be moved or replaced like all phrasal categories in syntactic analysis. However,

these pose a different interpretation at the semantic level as they assume a literal and figurative appreciation. Table 4d below reflects nine phrasal metaphors in S'ncamtho that are taken from the data due to their high frequency count in their category.

Table 4d: Examples of phrase metaphors in S'ncamtho

No	S'ncamtho phrase	Meaning	Etymology	Frequency count
A16	<i>ukutshaya inyawo</i>	having sex (male)	ND-beating legs	41
A17	<i>irobothi elibomvu</i>	female period	ND-red robot	20
A18	<i>ukuzifonela</i>	Pride	ND-phoning self	21
A19	<i>ukudlisepa</i>	Stupidity	ND-eating soap	20
A20	<i>ukungenamanzi</i>	in trouble	ND-water entering	38
A21	<i>ziyakhupha</i>	good things/times	ND-they are removing	40
A22	<i>inja yami</i>	my friend	ND-my dog	22
A23	<i>ukufaka ilayini</i>	propose love	ND-putting a fishing line	21
A24	<i>ukutshaya theni nothi</i>	Cheating	ND-beating 10-0	21

The phrase for having sex by males *ukutshaya inyawo* has one of the highest frequency counts in the data, indicating how the topic of sex is trending among Bulawayo urban male youth in the high density suburbs. The phrase *ziyakhupha* scores high as well because, besides being used to denote a good situation, it is now also used as a greeting genre. Trouble follows with a high frequency of 38 as troubles, especially with parents and the police, are prevalent. The nine phrasal metaphors in S'ncamtho are analysed linguistically and cognitively below:

A16. uku- tshay- a i- nyawo
 15- beat_{VR}- FV 10- feet_{NS}
 to- beat the- legs

Metaphor- having sex for males is to hit the legs

Source domain- punishment

Target domain- sexual intercourse

Vehicle- hitting the legs

→

Tenor- having sex for males

Mappings

-legs

→

legs are close to vagina or anus and are metonymical referents

-stick or whip

→

penis

-stroking with a whip

→

thrusting in sexual intercourse

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The hitting of legs as punishment especially at school is mapped on to thrusting using a penis in sex. Legs are a metonym for vagina as they are part of sex because they are opened to expose the vagina hence they are a metaphor for vagina or anus. Sex for men is seen as punishment that should be meted on a sex partner.

In this case, the man is ‘beating’ the legs of a lady or another man in the case of homosexuals using his penis. The noun *inyawo* (legs) itself is used as a noun metaphor for vagina in S'ncamtho. Hence, hitting the vagina as in sex in the case of men, is hitting the legs and this applies to hitting the anus too.

Examples:

- a) *Isidi yizemthing egqokwa ndawo nxa utshaya inyawo.*

‘A condom is this thing you put on when having sex’ (Interview-Makokoba).

- b) *Inkonkoni yila ama-awuthi atshaya inyawo zamadoda.*

‘Gays are these guys who have sex with men’ (FGD- Nkulumane).

- A17.** i- robhodi eli- bomvu
5- robot_{NS} SC- red
a- robot that is- red

Metaphor- menstruation is a red robot/ traffic light

Source domain- road traffic rules

Target domain- reproductive health

Vehicle- red robot

→

Tenor- menstruation

Mappings

-red colour

→

menstrual blood

-the comfort of driving

→

the pleasure of sexual intercourse

-prohibiting cars from entering

→

prohibiting of penis from entering

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. Menstruation is perceived as something that prohibits motion and pleasure. Driving maps on to sex and entering a robot controlled intersection maps onto entering the vagina.

This is a double mapping on to the colour red for both blood and red robot¹⁴. It also takes from the prohibition associated with both menstruation and red robots. Menstruation prohibits sex just as a red robot prohibits movement in road traffic control. The idea that is relevant for the tenor and vehicle is the prohibition.

¹⁴Robot means ‘traffic light’ in Southern Africa

Examples:

- a) *Irobhodi elibomvu sbali lipiriod labo tsheri kodwa abanye bathi lomuntu otshisayo yilo.*

‘A red robot my friend is a girl in her period but, others use it on a person with HIV/AIDS’ (Interview-Pumula South).

- b) *Uyazi umzukulu wafika edladleni irobhodi libomvu mina ngidle amangqina.*

‘My girlfriend came to my place in her period yet I had taken some aphrodisiac’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A18. uku- zi- fon- ela
15- RCP- phone_{VR}- APPL
to- phone- oneself

Metaphor- being pompous is phoning oneself

Source domain- communication technology

Target domain- human character

Vehicle- phoning self

→

Tenor- being pompous

Mappings

-telephone

→

fame

-those who phone into one’s phone

→

fanatics and those who spread one’s fame

-phoning self

→

praising self because of few or lack of fanatics

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping, whereby the experiences and expectations in telephone etiquette are mapped on to human character. One should not blow their own trumpet - others think it is pompous to praise oneself. Self praise is viewed as one person who picks up the phone and dials his number so that people think there are people who phone him/her when there are none.

It is derived from praising oneself instead of waiting for others to praise you. In cell phone technology, you cannot dial your own number and phone yourself- this is mapped on to pride. The idea is that other people should praise you not yourself, just as one cannot phone oneself.

Examples:

- a) *Umember lo uyazifonela ngani kasuye william.*

‘This man is so proud you cannot believe that he is a tout’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Wenza into zasevasity? Eish kawuphaphi baba abanye bazifonela ngokupasa ugrade seveni.*

‘You are doing varsity things? Eish you are humble others are too proud of passing grade seven’ (Interview- Nkulumane).

A19. uku- dl- a i- sepa

15- eat_{VR}- FV 5- soap_{NS}

to- eat a- soap

Metaphor- to be foolish is to eat soap

Source domain- nutrition

Target domain- human behaviour

Vehicle- eating soap

→ Tenor- foolishness

Mappings

-chocolate bars

→ knowledge or experience

-mistaking a bar of soap for a bar of chocolate
foolishness

→ thinking that you know when you do not know and this is

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a shape and experience mapping. Chocolate and soap bars are similar in image but it takes literacy to read the difference or experience to tell them apart. Lack of knowledge is juxtaposed to lack of exposure associated with rural ignorance of urban concepts such as fancy bathing soaps and chocolates.

The stupidity is derived from rural backwardness whereby a person does not know soap and is misled by the scent and colour to think it edible. According to Ndlovu (2015), some bathing soaps are colourful like sweets and in Ndebele *izichothozo* verbal duels, stupid rural men eat the soaps thinking they are edible.

Examples:

a) *Ikombi kaMzaca iboshiwe too much kudlisepa lowa mfana.*

‘Mzaca’s taxi has been arrested that boy is just too stupid’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

b) *Ukudl’isepa yibubhare.*

‘Eating soap is stupidity’ (Questionnaire- Pumula South).

A20. uku- ngen- a ama- nzi

15- enter_{VR}- FV 6- water_{NS}

to- enter the- water

Metaphor- to be in trouble is to have water enter your house

Source domain- flooding

Target domain- human situations

Vehicle- a flooded room

→ Tenor- trouble

Mappings

-flood

→ trouble

-to be in a flooded room

→ to be in trouble

-physical discomfort and destruction from wetness → physical and psychological discomfort in a troubling situation

-cold and shivering from cold → fright and shivering from fear

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a sensory experience mapping. The cold and shivering from wetness is mapped onto the fright and shivering from fear. Trouble is seen as something that intrudes your happiness which in this case maps to dryness and through wetting destroys property and leaves the occupant cold and desperate.

When water enters a person's house, they cannot sleep in water, this symbolises trouble in the S'ncamtho metaphor. Water is regarded as a cause for discomfort on a person or property or even food. The youth believe that if blankets are wet then a person is in trouble, or that, when water gets into a boat then the sailors are in trouble. This image is mapped on to all trouble situations.

Examples:

- a) *Okuhata okuthiwa nguGwekwerere kungakubamba uyangen'amanzi ngoba akudizeki.*

'If you are caught by the police officer called *Gwekwerere* you are in trouble as he does not take bribes' (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Angisagasi phakathi kweviki ngoba ngikengangen'amanzi es'pano.*

'I no longer drink during the week I was once in trouble at work' (Interview- Makokoba).

A21. zi- ya- khiph- a
10 SC- PRC- remove_{VR}- FV
they- are- removing

Metaphor- a good life is good music which removes stress

Source domain- partying

Target domain- well being

Vehicle- good music

→ Tenor- good life

Mappings

-party

→ life

-good music in a party removes stress

→ a good life is free from stress

-removing stress of the dance floor

→ removing stress from life to have a healthy mind

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The removing of stress through good music at a party is mapped onto well being where the mind is free from stress. Removing stress is the common denominator between the vehicle and the tenor and through clipping "removing" remains as a metaphor for good life or wellbeing.

The Disc Jockey removes stress through good songs. When the music is good it gets in to replace the troubles or stress and in this case the phrase is used in greetings to check the stress levels on a friend.

Examples:

a) *Ngeweekend ngeke ungthole zobezikhipha koTuku.*

‘You cannot get me over the weekend things will be firing at Tuku’s concert’ (Interview- Nkulumane).

b) *Z’khiphani sbali.*

‘What’s good man’ (Interview- Makokoba).

A22. i- nja yam- i
9- dog_{NS} mine- POSS
my- dog

Metaphor- a friend is one’s dog

Source domain- domestic animals

Target domain- human relations

Vehicle- dog

→ Tenor- friend

Mappings

-loyalty → friendship

-dependable, defends, depends on owner → a friend is dependable, defends and depends on friends

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. The relationship between a dog and its owner is mapped onto the relationship between friends. A friend is seen as a dog which is loyal, dependable and also depends on its owner. The primary ontological correlation is the thematic experience of loyalty.

Mapped from the English adage ‘a dog is man’s best friend’. It might also have come from the African American slang ‘my dog’, through Hip Hop and Rap music which is popular with Bulawayo location youth. The paradox here is that the police, who are ‘enemies’, are also called dogs, but not in a possessive phrase like friend. A friend is one’s own dog and people, especially Ndebele male youth, love dogs, but the use of dog outside both S’ncamtho and Ndebele is used to denote negative images such as prostitutes and evil.

Examples:

a) *Ngiphethe izinja zami, bazosenzani banokhile lab’olova.*

‘I am with my friends, what will they do these guys are dead drunk’ (Song you tube *Izikhothane*).

- b) *Ungaze umtshela uBongz angiworry ngoba yinja yami.*

‘Even if you tell Bongani I do not worry he is my friend’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

A23. uku- fak- a i- layini
 15- put_{VR}- FV a- line_{NS}
 to put a line

Metaphor- proposing love is throwing a fishing line into water

Source domain- fishing

Target domain- love relations

Vehicle- putting a fishing line in water → Tenor- proposing love

Mappings

-putting a line in the water → proposing love

-catching a fish → proposal accepted and connected in love

-eating the fish → making love

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a function mapping. Proposing love is seen as starting the process of hunting fish which can result in catching or not catching. When accepted, love is consummated through an interaction, one of which is sexual intercourse mapped onto eating fish. The primary ontological correlation is the appeal that attracts girls as it attracts fish in the vehicle.

Proposing is mapped on to throwing a fishing line into the water. When a person puts a fishing line into the water, he waits for the catch. Proposing love takes similar stages before one is accepted by a girl.

Examples:

- a) *Ngafaka ilayini kwangikahlela kusiyakhomba omunye uwindi.*

‘I proposed and she refused only to fall in love with another tout’ – (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Ukufaka ilayini yikuzibika kutsheri.*

‘To put a line is to propose a girl’ (Interview-Pumula South).

A24. uku- tshay- a theninothi
 15- beat_{VR}- FV ten zero
 to- beat ten zero

Metaphor- extreme cheating is beating ten goals to zero

Source domain- spot/soccer

Target domain- human behaviour

Vehicle- ten to zero score line → Tenor- cheating

Mappings

-soccer	→	deals or doing business
-scoring	→	cheating a party to a deal or business
-scoring ten goals to zero	→	cheating someone to buy all your ideas at their expense

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an incremental mapping. Scoring goals maps to cheating and scoring ten goals to zero increases and magnifies the cheating. The desperation and hopelessness of a soccer team beaten ten zero is mapped on to the feeling of being cheated. Cheating is seen as a game where one has to defend and score. Scoring many goals means the opponent is not clever, and they fail to score a single goal. The primary ontological correlation is the incremental cheating.

It is derived from soccer score lines and terminology. Male youth, especially those in the suburbs of Makokoba and Babourfields, are close to Babourfields stadium the home ground for their favourite soccer team, Highlanders. When a team is beaten by a score line of ten to zero it is a very resounding defeat, and this image is used to refer to cheating someone completely.

Examples:

- a) *Sbali ngilinde wena kanti kudala ula! Sesivalana ? **yitheni nothi** phela le?*

‘Man I was waiting for you meanwhile you are already here! Are we cheating each other? Is this not ten zero?’
(Observation -Godini taxi rank).

- b) ***Itheni nothi** yikutshayatshaya baba.*

‘Ten zero is cheating man’– (Interview-Nkulumane).

Phrases are used in S'ncamtho to depict noun and verb situations and these phrases combine words that have literal meanings to derive figurative meanings, creating S'ncamtho metaphors. Some lexical categories that are combined to form S'ncamtho phrasal metaphors already have figurative meanings before they are combined. The phrases and their linguistic and cognitive metaphor analysis confirm that S'ncamtho has phrasal metaphors.

4.3.4 Sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho

Linguistic categorisation of metaphor goes beyond the phrase, in the sense that some phrases are combined in S'ncamtho to give figurative meaning that is generated through the combination of the phrases. Pallier, Devauchelle and Dehaene (2011:2522) note that most theories of syntax describe sentences as tree-like

hierarchical structures of nested phrases, or constituents, which constitute syntactic units that can be moved or replaced as a whole by, for example, a pronoun in the case of noun phrases. Phrases are combined as in the examples in Table 4e below to give sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho.

Table 4e: some sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho

No	Sncamtho sentence	Meaning	Etymology	Frequency count
A25	<i>ukwanda kwaliwa yi-FamilyPlanning</i>	thank you	from an ND-proverb	20
A26	<i>amapatapata awela abangelamazwane</i>	fortune falls where it is not needed	from an ND-proverb	21
A27	<i>icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo</i>	warning	new created from oral health	27
A28	<i>ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela</i>	one always complaining	new created from a candle	20
A29	<i>ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa</i>	poor working conditions	new created from a soap	21
A30	<i>ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka</i>	to disappoint	new created from bedding and sex	20

S'ncamtho makes use of sentences to derive metaphor and these sentences state a common truth that is used to express the same in relevant situations. Some of the images used, take the form of similes but they are fixed as metaphors as they give a common and communally understood image schema. Most of these sentences are used in everyday speech, this explains why they are few, as they are outside favourite S'ncamtho topics. The sentence metaphors are a bit old fashioned and this makes their numbers less compared to other categories. The six sentence metaphors have the least occurring frequencies in all the data, indicating that sentence metaphors are not common in S'ncamtho. They are analysed below.

A25. ukw- and- a kw- ali- wa- yi- family planning
 15- multiply_{VR}- FV 15 OC- refuse_{VR}- PASS- 5SC- family planning_{NS}
 to- multiply is- refused- by- contraceptives

Metaphor- increase in human populations is increase in potential helpers

Source domain- reproductive health (Ndebele metaphor)

Target domain- gratitude (S'ncamtho metaphor)

Vehicle- contraceptives

→

Tenor- reducing helpers

Mappings

-contraception

→

killing, reducing possible helpers

-no contraception

→

reason why the helper was born

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is a theme mapping. First the mappings are between Ndebele and S'ncamtho vehicles. In Ndebele witches reduce potential helpers by killing them. This killing is mapped onto contraception in the S'ncamtho metaphor. The theme of gratitude is mapped in a continuum from thanking the parents of a helper for not using contraceptives, resulting in the birth of a helper, to thanking the helper. Scorn for contraceptives therefore has become a thanking genre. The primary ontological correlation is the theme of thanking the birth of a helper and more potential helpers.

It is a replacement of a vehicle in an Ndebele proverb with a modern one. The Ndebele believe that when people are many, they help each other and one who reduces the population does not want people to help each other. In the Ndebele proverb it is witches that kill people to reduce their number. In the S'ncamtho proverb it is contraceptives that do not increase human population. It is interesting to note that the metaphor correlates contraception with killing. The whole construction is meant to achieve the illocutionary act of thanking.

Examples:

- a) *Uzangifela sbali ukwanda kwaliwa yi-familyplanning.*

'You will die for me man thank it is only family planning that does not want people to multiply' (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planningyikubonga kwabafana.*

'It is only family planning that does not want people to multiply this is a thank you in the boys' language' (Questionnaire-Makokoba).

A26.	ama-	patapata	a-	w-	ela	aba-	nge-	la-	ma-	zwane
	6-	slippers _{NS}	6OC-	fall _{VR} -	APPL	2BEN-	NEG-	have-	6-	toes _{NS}
		slippers		fall-on-		those-	without-			toes

Metaphor- an opportunity to one who is not ready for it is slippers to one with no toes

Source domain- clothing

Target domain- fortune

Vehicles- slippers, toes, falling

→

Tenors- fortune, resources, chance

Mappings

-falling

→

chance or opportunity

-slippers

→

fortune or an opportunity

-toes used to wear slippers

→

resources to utilise fortune or an opportunity

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor has multiple mappings, an opportunity is seen as something that falls and can fall on anyone, expressing the theme of chance. Fortune is the entity that falls and it is perceived as footwear to people who walk barefooted. However the falling does not first check on toes before falling and falls on those with no toes who cannot wear the slippers.

The metaphor means that fortune falls on those who do not need it. Here, the old Ndebele proverb uses melons and pots and S'ncamtho replaces these with slippers and toes. In the Ndebele proverb it is melons coming to people without pots. The urban environment has brought changes to the S'ncamtho language as the youth in urban Bulawayo now belong to a different tradition to that which was used to derive Ndebele proverbs for example, and this gives rise to new metaphoric vehicles. A person needs toes so that slippers can fit and one who does not have toes has no need for slippers.

Examples:

- a) *So baba ulo-classfour? Amapatapata awela abangelamazwane shame.*

‘So man you have class four drivers licence? Slippers fall on those without toes shame’ (Interview- Makokoba).

- b) *Ukuthi amapatapata awela abangelamazwane kutsho ukuthi inhlanhla iya lapho engadingeki khona.* ‘To say slippers fall on those without toes means luck falls where it is not needed’ (Interview- Makokoba).

A27.	i-	colgate	kasiyo-	yodwa	e-	gcin-	a	ama-	zinyo
	5-	colgate _{NS}	NEG-	only	5SC-	keep _{VR} -	FV	6-	teeth _{NS}
	a-	colgate	is not-	the only one	that-	keeps-			teeth

Metaphor- careless talk is an application to lose teeth

Source domain- oral health

Target domain- advice

Vehicle- losing → Tenor- not taking advice

Mappings

-having teeth → a sign of taking advice and people do not knock your teeth off

-having no teeth → a sign of being beaten

-tooth paste → tooth paste does not block blows that remove teeth

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor uses inverted images of tooth paste and maps someone who uses a wrong method to defend themselves as one who uses tooth paste to protect their teeth from a fist that eventually knocks out their teeth. The primary ontological correlation is the theme of a wrong solution.

This performs the act of warning someone that if they misbehave people can remove their teeth in a fight. This is a new S'ncamtho proverb that confirms that while tooth paste keeps your teeth, you may lose them in a fight

if you do not respect other people. In Zimbabwe, Colgate is a tooth paste brand that has been broadened semantically to mean tooth paste. The sentence metaphor fits the illocutionary condition of a warning and can be used in all environments of warning.

Examples:

- a) *Wena Mjoks hlale wazi ukuthi icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo.*

‘Mjoks always know that tooth paste is not the only thing that preserves teeth’ (Observation- Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Uma kuthiwa icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo kuyabe kukhuzwa osezatshaywa.*

‘When you hear the words tooth paste is not the only thing that preserves teeth know that someone is being warned before a beating’ (FGD-Nkulumane).

A28.	uku-	sebenz-	a	u-	khal-	a	njeng-	e-	khandlela
15-	work _{VR} -	FV	1SC-	cry _{VR} -	FV	like-	5OC-	candle _{NS}	
to-	work		while-	crying		like-	a-	candle	

Metaphor- a worker who complains is a burning candle

Source domain- illumination

Target domain- labour relations

Vehicles- burning candle

→ Tenor- complaining worker

Mappings

-working

→ burning

-dripping wax

→ complaining, crying

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an image mapping. A complaining worker is seen as one who works to illuminate for others while he is dripping tears of complaints. The primary ontological correlation is the waxing which corresponds to tears.

This is a new S'ncamtho creation whereby the image of a candle that drips wax as it works is mapped on to crying or complaining while someone is working. The metaphor is used to represent bad working conditions and to encourage people to enjoy their jobs and not complain always.

Examples:

- a) *Ikombi zikaMoyo ngiyatshiya mina ngikhathela ukusebenza ngikhala njengekhandlela.*

‘I will leave Moyo’s taxis I am tired of working while crying like a candle’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Abaqambisi bathwele qatha basebenza bekhala njengamakhandlela.*

‘Teachers are in trouble they work while crying like candles’ (Observation- Godini taxi rank).

A29. uku- nga- gcin- wa ngu- m- sebenzi njeng- e- sepa
 15- NEG- keep_{VR}- PASS by- 3- job_{NS} like- 5 OC- soap_{NS}
 to- not- be- kept by- a- job like- a- soap

Metaphor- poor working conditions are like thinning of soap as it washes

Source domain- cosmetics

Target domain- labour relations

Vehicle- thinning of soap

→ Tenor- poor working conditions

Mappings

-soap

→ worker

-washing

→ working

-thinning of soap

→ harsh working conditions

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an incremental mapping. The increase in working corresponds to the decrease of the worker. Working for bad employers is seen as a soap that makes the washing clean but it is eroded until it is finished. The primary ontological correlation is the theme of incremental decrease with working.

Here, poor working conditions are mapped onto soap which gets finished as the job of washing gets better instead of a mutual beneficiation. This is used to refer to someone who is disadvantaged by a job or task. The youth are interested in job hunting and work is topical in S'ncamtho. They have observed that some jobs do not benefit, like soap that benefits nothing but loss from its job.

Examples:

a) *Isiwindi kasikugcini mfana uyaphela njengesepa nxa usebenza.*

‘Touting does not help you boy, you are getting finished as you work like soap’ (Observation- Godini taxi rank).

b) *Izaga zabafana ngezifana lesithi ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa.*

‘Boys’ proverbs are like the one that says; not kept by a job like soap’ (Questionnaire- Nkulumane).

A30. uku- ba- rafu njeng- o- m- bheda wa- ma- planka
 15- be- rough like- 3SC- 3- bed_{NS} POSS- 6- plank_{NS}
 to- be- a disappointment like- a- bed of- planks

Metaphor- a person who disappoints is a bed made of planks

Source domain- bedding

Target domain- human feelings

Vehicle- bed made of planks

→ Tenor- one who disappoints

Mappings

-fragility of bed	→	untrustworthy character
-breaking of bed during sex	→	betrayal of trust, disappointment
-inconvenience of a broken bed	→	emotional pain in disappointment

Tertium comparationis

The metaphor is an experience mapping. Trust is perceived as something you can lie on and it should keep you afloat, yet it can be broken by disappointments. The primary ontological correlation is the disappointment and interruption of plans.

Having sex on a poor wooden bed can end up in disappointment as the beds usually break. Anyone who disappoints in S'ncamtho is mapped on to the sexual disappointment associated with having sex on a bed made of planks when it breaks.

Examples:

- a) *Kanti ubuthe uzangibhadalela imali yamabhawu wekela yazi urafu njengombheda wamaplanka.*

‘You promised to pay the rank marshals for me and you didn’t, you are rough like a bed of planks’ (Observation-Godini taxi rank).

- b) *Ubheda wamaplanka ungakuphoxa uphuke ulotsheri so umuntu ophoxayo urafu njengombheda wamaplanka.*

‘A bed of planks can disappoint and break while you are with your girlfriend hence a person who disappoints is rough like a bed of planks’ (Interview- Pumula South).

The sentence metaphors in S'ncamtho borrow from the base language Ndebele and there is creativity that employs new metaphoric vehicles, but the meaning remains the same as in the Ndebele context. Zimmermann (2009:124) argues that new creations are rare when he avers that: ‘There is frequent use of existing linguistic material and creation procedures operating on it. However, S'ncamtho has new creations and all these make use of comparisons using modern concepts found in the urban environment. Hurst (2016) found new sentence/phrasal metaphors in tsotsitaal, while she notes that new word/lexical creations are hard to find.

4.3.5 Summary and conclusions on cognitive and linguistic analysis of S'ncamtho metaphors

S'ncamtho employs the Relational Frame in its cognitive conceptualisation of metaphor and the mappings can be linguistically categorised into lexical, phrasal and sentence metaphor. The metaphors under study are distributed as follows across the categories: lexical-15, phrasal-9 and sentence-6. In the category of lexical metaphors, there are seven noun lexical metaphors and eight verb metaphors, while on the longer constructions there are nine phrasal and six sentence metaphors. The strategies used to form metaphor include

relexicalisation, rephonologisation, innovating older Ndebele metaphors, lexical borrowing and new creations. Six instances of English rephonologies occur in the thirty metaphors. The rephonologised English words are catch- *ukukhetsha*, knock-*ukunokha*, hate-*ihata*, arch-*i-ake*, rough-*ukubarafu* and manure-*imanyuwa*, and there is one rephonologised Afrikaans word *klaar- ukuklara*. In the sentence category there are two innovations of Ndebele sayings.

The changed environment has created a need for a change in the vehicles used in the formulation of idiomatic expressions. The urban youths find it very difficult to use traditional symbols that are usually found in rural areas to express themselves metaphorically. The change in life style comes with a change in the environment and culture and the youths in S'ncamtho use different 'modern' vehicles for their metaphors. Elements that come from western civilisation are used as vehicles in S'ncamtho metaphors. Of the thirty metaphors, eleven use the following concepts that are not traditionally Ndebele: traffic light, soap, fishing line, soccer, telephone, tooth paste, candle, bed, juice cards and compact discs. The Cognitive Metaphor mappings reveal that the majority of noun metaphors are image mappings while verb metaphors in the majority are experiential mappings incorporating sensory experiences, incremental and progression experiences. Phrasal and sentence metaphors consist mainly of multiple mappings and mapping continuums. Source domains are not restricted to popular themes in youth varieties but they come from all domains in which Ndebele the base language operates. Most of the target domains have to do with human social interactions.

4.4 Metaphor genre characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors

Metaphor in S'ncamtho has been categorised thematically and linguistically and the analysis has confirmed that thematic and linguistic categories are present in S'ncamtho metaphor. This section further characterises S'ncamtho metaphor into genres of idiom that are recognisable. The thirty metaphors in the four linguistic categories that have a high frequency count are further divided along idiomatic genres of euphemism, argot, proverbs and sayings, and aphorisms. The classification into idiomatic genres is important for this study as the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors is tested along idiom genres. Fluency in S'ncamtho can be tested using metaphor. Gibbs (2010:1) avers that:

Speaking a language with any degree of fluency requires knowledge of idioms, proverbs, slang, fixed expressions, and other speech formulas. A traditional view of idioms and related speech formulas sees these phrases as bits and pieces of fossilised language. Yet idiomatic/proverbial phrases are not mere linguistic ornaments, intended to dress up a person's

speech style, but are an integral part of the language that eases social interaction, enhances textual coherence, and, quite importantly, reflect fundamental patterns of human thought.

The classification of S'ncamtho metaphor along idiomatic genres confirms that these are not merely linguistic expressions but they map on to thought patterns that help in the expressive force of communicating certain ideas. S'ncamtho has clearly discernible genres of metaphor in the form of proverbs, sayings, euphemisms, and aphorisms.

4.4.1 The euphemistic and argot metaphors in S'ncamtho

S'ncamtho like other languages has taboo avoidance. The tabooed elements are mapped on to other related and relevant concepts in S'ncamtho to derive a genre of metaphor that is euphemistic. Gambahaya, Mashiri and Kangira (2007:32) have observed that ‘cultural norms and values render some words taboo, thereby making it imperative for the language user to use metaphors’. Metaphors of avoidance are euphemistic metaphors and they are prevalent in S'ncamtho, confirming that it is a variety that conforms to social values at times. However, the S'ncamtho euphemisms are not as polite as the Ndebele *isihlonipha* language equivalents. Concepts are tabooed for different reasons, the common ones being their explicit connection to nudity and sex, religious concepts, feared concepts and humiliating ones. Azzaro (2005) also identifies the most common areas of cultural taboos and Selikow (2004:105) gives examples of how the youth in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg use metaphors to replace sexual taboos. Mashiri, Mawomo and Tom (2002:221) argue that Shona people consider matters relating to sex, death, illness or other misfortune as taboo or unspeakable. Table 4f below displays euphemistic and secretive metaphors from the data, as well as tabooed and or secretive terms and concepts that the youth avoid.

Table 4f: S'ncamtho and Ndebele euphemistic and argot metaphors

No	S'ncamtho euphemism/argot	Literal and metaphorical meaning	Avoided Ndebele term	Ndebele euphemism, literal meaning and etymology
B1	<i>ukutshaya inyawo</i>	to hit the legs- to have sex for males	<i>ukuzeka</i>	<i>ukulala</i> - to sleep on (from the common sex position of man on top)
B2	<i>i-ake</i>	an arch- round female bottom (from the arch shape of the buttocks)	<i>izibunu</i>	<i>izihlalo</i> - seats
B3	<i>imanyuwa</i>	manure- to have sex through the anus (from faeces in the anus)	<i>ukuzeka umdidi</i> -sex through the anus	<i>ukulala ngemuva</i> - to sleep behind
B4	<i>ukukhetsha</i>	to catch- to hire a prostitute (from hunting terminology in English “catch”)	<i>ukufeba</i>	<i>ukubayinkunzi</i> - to be a bull (a bull mounts several cows)
B5	<i>ukuhotsha</i>	to suck- to prostitute (from sucking)	<i>ukuwula</i>	<i>ukuphinga</i> -looking for male dogs

		male semen)		by a bitch
B6	<i>amasidi (CD)</i>	compact discs- condoms (from the shape of the male condom when packed)	<i>amakhondomu- condoms</i>	<i>amajazi-</i> coats (coats protect from the cold and condoms also protect)
B7	<i>irobothi elibomvu</i>	a red robot/ traffic light- menstruation	<i>ukuyaenyangeni-</i> to go to the moon	<i>ukugeza-</i> bathing (women bath at the river when on their periods)
B8	<i>ukulahla</i>	to throw- to be sexually loose for women	<i>ukuwula</i>	<i>ukungaziphathi-</i> uncultured
B9	<i>amajusikhadi</i>	juice cards- ARVs	<i>amaARV</i>	<i>amaphilisi-</i> pills
B10	<i>ukunokha</i>	to knock- to be very drunk (from engine knock)	<i>ukudakwa</i>	<i>ukusutha-</i> to be full of food
B11	<i>ihata</i>	haters- police (the term is avoided as they should not hear S'ncamtho especially as used by touts in the taxi ranks)	<i>amapholisa</i>	-
B12	<i>ukuklara</i>	to <i>klaar</i> /to be finished- to die (from Afrikaans word for finish)	<i>ukufa</i>	<i>ukuhamba-</i> to go
B13	<i>i-eyitini</i>	an eighteen- toilet (from a No under 18 room)	<i>isambuzi</i>	<i>indlu encane-</i> small house
B14	<i>umzukulu</i>	niece- girlfriend	<i>umakhwapheni</i>	<i>umngane-</i> friend

In the thirty metaphors under analysis, the highest number falls on the euphemistic metaphor genre. The high number in this category could be ascribed to topics that elicit euphemism and most of these topics are of interest to the youth. There is more reason to create metaphors around taboo and avoided topics. Sex and sexuality for example is a tabooed topic in all human communities- what may differ is the degree of taboo. Eckert and MacConnell-Ginet (2003:220-224) give some English metaphors for sex and sexual feelings and they identify expressions like screw, bang, steamy sex, burning up, hunger, appetite, devour, taste and eat. S'ncamtho also uses similar images to refer to sex and sexuality such as hitting the legs and sucking.

Euphemisms are metaphorical in that they use a non-tabooed concept to express a tabooed one. According to Hymes (1972), culturally appropriate communicative competence and euphemisms help people to conform to this social expectation of taboo. S'ncamtho is an informal variety used (at least partly) to avoid taboo terms and this is expressed by the number of euphemistic metaphors. Gambahaya, Kangira and Mashiri (2004:3) identify Shona verbs used to connote sex and they give examples such as *kudya* 'to eat', *kupona* 'to survive', *kuseva* 'to dip a morsel of food into soup', *kujuruja* 'to trap termites from their hole using a wet stick'. They further give examples of nouns and verbs used to name HIV and AIDS, including *nyuchi* 'bees', *ngwena* 'crocodile', *mbonje* 'scar', *kuroyiwa* 'to be bewitched' and *kuruma* 'to bite'. This study identifies fourteen euphemistic metaphors from the selected data and this confirms that S'ncamtho has the genre of euphemistic metaphors.

4.4.2 Proverbial S'ncamtho metaphors

Another class of metaphor genre present in S'ncamtho are proverbs and sayings. In the case of proverbs, it is difficult to create a new proverb hence the majority of proverbs used in S'ncamtho are modifications from the matrix language, Ndebele. Schipper (1991:1) reasons that definitions for proverbs generally emphasise three characteristics- (1) its concise fixed artistic form (2) its evaluative and conservative function in society, and (3) its authoritative validity. From the data collected, there are only six examples in these genres with three proverbs and three sayings. In the proverb class, two are modifications from Ndebele proverbs and one appears to be a new creation. These metaphors qualify to be sayings and proverbs because they are communal communication property. In this vein, Lelia (2004:347) states that:

Whenever a proverb occurs, both the actual speaker and a “collective utterer” come into play. Arising from folk wisdom, proverbs reflect a culture’s evaluative attitudes towards certain facts or events; they are impregnated with value judgments and legitimize behaviour, attitudes or point of view.

Table 4g below gives examples of the proverb and saying genre in S'ncamtho metaphor.

Table 4g: Examples of S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings

no	S'ncamtho proverb/saying	Ndebele equivalent and gloss
c1	<i>ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning</i> ‘family planning prevents people from multiplying’	<i>ukwanda kwaliwa ngabathakathi</i> ‘witches prevent people from multiplying’
c2	<i>amapatapata awela abangela mazwane</i> ‘slippers come to those without toes’	<i>amajodo awela abangelambiza</i> ‘melons fall on those without pots’
c3	<i>icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo</i> ‘it is not only colgate that preserves teeth’	new S'ncamtho proverb
c4	<i>ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela</i> ‘to work while crying like a candle’	new S'ncamtho saying
c5	<i>ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njenge sepa</i> ‘worn away by a job like soap’	new S'ncamtho saying
c6	<i>ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka</i> ‘to be rough like a wooden bed’	new S'ncamtho saying

There are few proverbs in S'ncamtho, but the number of sayings is open to addition from new experiences which the youth go through. In S'ncamtho, proverbs are persistent to similar situations in Ndebele society and

they change the vehicles to include urban vehicles that mark the streetwise character of S'ncamtho as an urban youth variety.

4.4.3 Aphorisms in S'ncamtho

There are other short sayings operating within S'ncamtho and these are identified as aphorisms. Morel (2006:368) defines aphorisms as ‘summary texts designed to make an impact. They are a feature of language across all media, [...] they are complete units that are brief and have clear boundaries’. Merrow (2003:288) notes that condensed allusions that do not have a fixed meaning, are aphoristic and they become aphorisms once their meaning has been fixed. Reps (1991) also describe aphorisms as short, pithy sayings or puzzles. This section identifies ten out of the thirty metaphors under study that can be categorised under the class of aphorisms which are short sayings. The use of these metaphors is also characterised by style and playfulness, as these are important markers of urban varieties. There are ten metaphors from the thirty that make the class of aphorisms in S'ncamtho as tabulated in Table 4h below:

Table 4h: Some aphorisms in S'ncamtho

No	S'ncamtho saying	Literal meaning	Ndebele and English glosses
D1	<i>ukuzifonela</i>	to phone oneself	<i>ukuzigqaja</i> (to be proud)
D2	<i>ukudlisepa</i>	to eat soap	<i>ukuba yisithutha</i> (to be foolish)
D3	<i>ukugeleza</i>	flowing	<i>ukufunda</i> (schooling)
D4	<i>ukungen'amanzi</i>	to enter water	<i>ukuthwala amagabha avuzayo</i> (to carry leaking tins/trouble)
D5	<i>ziyakhapha</i>	they are removing	<i>kumnandi</i> (it is sweet/ok)
D6	<i>inja yami</i>	my dog	<i>umngane wami</i> (my friend)
D7	<i>ukutshayatshaya</i>	to beat-beat	<i>ukuvala amehlo</i> (to blind fold someone/cheat)
D8	<i>ukufaka ilayini</i>	to put a line	<i>ukuzibika</i> (to introduce yourself to a girl/propose love)
D9	<i>ukuyilahla</i>	to lose it	<i>ukuphambanisa</i> (to disturb or disturbing situation)
D10	<i>ukutshaya theninothi</i>	to beat ten zero	<i>ukuqila</i> (to cheat)

Aphorisms are prevalent as a genre in S'ncamtho metaphorical expressions. Many different domains are cross-mapped in metaphors, including some that are difficult to mix like sports, art, and literature. For example, ‘Sport is war minus the shooting’. The ten metaphors exemplified above are commonly understood by many S'ncamtho speakers and pass as aphorisms in S'ncamtho metaphor genre classification.

4.4.4 Summary and conclusions on metaphor genre characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors

S'ncamtho has clearly discernible genres of metaphor and the genres identified from the thirty metaphors are euphemisms-13, argot-1, proverbs-3, sayings-3 and aphorisms-10. The most popular themes in S'ncamtho are sex and sexuality, love and parties, and these have many tabooed elements. As a result, there are many euphemistic metaphors in S'ncamtho to enable speakers discuss these topics. Argot in S'ncamtho occurs when dealing with crime and the law. In the data, the only example of argot relates to the police-*ihata*. In the class of proverbs and sayings, there are fewer established longer proverbs and sayings and more aphorisms which are short sayings. The dominant metaphor genres in S'ncamtho are euphemisms and aphorisms and most of these are formed from newer concepts in Ndebele culture. At times, the new concepts replace traditional Ndebele metaphor vehicles.

4.5 Conclusion

The initial stage of data collection comprises metaphor collection and verification among Bulawayo location male youth from the western suburbs and observations in the taxi business which is dominated by location male youth. The data generates a total of 88 metaphors that are organised according to themes popular with urban youth. The 88 metaphors are graded according to the frequency of their occurrence in the collected data, to derive the thirty selected for analysis. The frequency-count is based on lexical and syntactic categories of noun, verb, phrase and sentence. The frequency count produces thirty metaphors that are analysed linguistically and cognitively under the sub sections of noun metaphors, verb metaphors, phrasal metaphors and sentence metaphors.

The thirty metaphors are finally categorised according to idiomatic genres and they fall under four broad genres of euphemisms, proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms. The data, the analysis and the characterisation confirms that S'ncamtho has metaphor in the classes of nouns, verbs, phrases, sentences, euphemisms, proverbs, sayings, and aphorisms. The final idiomatic genre characterisation of S'ncamtho is important for the next chapter as the chapter analyses data to measure the spread of these metaphors outside Bulawayo location male youth. Chapter five uses idiomatic classes of S'ncamtho metaphor to test for knowledge and usage across variables of urban/rural/peri-urban, adult/youth, and male/female.

Chapter 5 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON FAMILIARITY AND USAGE OF S'NCAMTHO METAPHORS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data to measure the spread in familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo location male youth to other Ndebele areas in the city and beyond. The chapter evaluates the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors across the variables of urban-rural, sex and age. The chapter starts by analysing data gathered through interviews from Bulawayo high density suburban male youth's views on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. Views from Bulawayo location male youth are qualitative data which is juxtaposed with the quantitative data from the questionnaire familiarity and usage tests on key informants and professional respondents. The chapter analyses the spread in terms of familiarity and usage and also considers the familiarity of individual metaphors from the thirty selected metaphors used in the tests.

The chapter is framed using social impact theory and dynamic social impact theory which assume that S'ncamtho spreads and the spread is influenced by certain qualities of its speakers. Jackson and Latane (1983:75) argue that 'The stronger the source, the more immediate they are to the target, and the larger their number the more impact the target will experience'. Bulawayo urban location male youth have qualities that can influence people to use their variety. The question probed in this chapter is therefore the magnitude of their influence in Ndebele communities.

5.1 Chapter data

The initial data for the chapter is derived from six interviews that were conducted with male youth in the high density suburbs of Makokoba, Nkulumane and Pumula South, on their views on the spread and usage of S'ncamtho and S'ncamtho metaphors by other Ndebele speakers across age, sex and regions. The second part of the data for the chapter is derived from questionnaires that were distributed to 240 key informants, eleven professional informants and eleven media personnel, and observations made in professional environments. The data used in the chapter is explained in detail in chapter three which deals with the research methodology.

5.2 Bulawayo high density male youth's views on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho and S'ncamtho metaphors

The assumption of the study is that S'ncamtho is an Ndebele youth variety that is popular with urban male youth in the high density areas of Bulawayo and the assessment of the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors in the study starts here. Male youth in the areas of Makokoba, Nkulumane and Pumula South were asked in interviews their views on the spread of S'ncamtho in terms of familiarity and usage by other age groups in and outside the city. The high density urban male youth as 'owners' of the variety gave their views on the familiarity and usage of their popular variety and their views are analysed in this section of the chapter.

There is youthfulness that characterises S'ncamtho and the influence of urban youth on the rest of the Ndebele population is based on their social impact. Latane (1981) notes that social impact is the amount of social influence individuals have on one another and the impact functions based on the elements of strength (elements that make a person more persuasive or better able to resist persuasion, such as expertise, physical attractiveness or personality), immediacy and number. The interviews on the perceptions of Bulawayo high density male youth on S'ncamtho spread are expressed in some S'ncamtho metaphors that are not part of those collected for the initial study and these are explained in the foot notes.

The data exhibits relexicalisation from Ndebele and English, and there are some terms that are borrowed from Afrikaans too. Bulawayo high density male youth in the colonial black locations have claimed S'ncamtho as their own and they hint at a South African link, especially a Johannesburg link. Over the years, people from Matabeleland have depended more on South Africa for jobs, crossing the border illegally and surviving as Zulu people in South Africa and this link has created commonalities between S'ncamtho and iScamtho in Johannesburg. However, the linguistic sisterhood and contact does not mean there are no differences between Zulu and Ndebele which translates to differences between the youth varieties too. Interview 5.2a below acknowledges that S'ncamtho is created by Bulawayo high density male youth through adapting the Johannesburg male youth variety.

5.2a. *Uyaqava¹⁵ mebra¹⁶ into yamajida le kahlekahle ivela eNdazula¹⁷ thina ke besesiyayitshuna¹⁸ ngesiSkies¹⁹.*

¹⁵*Qava* [!ava] is 'to know something', the term is also found in the Johannesburg Scamtho and the origins are not clear.

¹⁶ It is from English ('my brother') and shortened to *mebra*

¹⁷*Ndazula* is a nickname for Johannesburg formed by using the Xhosa prefix *nda-* (I) and the Ndebele verb root *-zula* (wander) as those who go there are wanderers.

‘You see my brother this gents’ thing actually originates in Johannesburg then we tune it into the Bulawayo variety’. (Nkulumane interview 2).

In the late nineties, Zimbabwe started to experience a political and economical down turn that led to many people seeking greener pastures in other countries and South Africa became host to many economic and political refugees from Zimbabwe. According to Ranga (2015:43), the majority of cross border labourers are mostly male youth and girls are not in the majority of those who cross to South Africa. This explains why the interviewee in 5.2a reasons that S'ncamtho is a male youth variety. In 5.2b below the interviewee also confirms that S'ncamtho terms originate in Johannesburg in the majority:

5.2b. *IS'ncamtho yikuringa²⁰ kwamajida ekasi²¹. sitshunatshuna isiVethi²² leSintu krootman besesiyasampa²³ ngesipansula saseloktion²⁴. Khona sihlanganisa ukuringa kwamajida eMshishi²⁵ ngoba manje ungangiphosela eJoza ngiyabloma lamajida eSoweto kungela smoko baba.*

‘S'ncamtho is location young men’s way of speaking. We tune English into Ndebele big man and then we talk in the location *pantsula*. We actually mix Johannesburg male gang speech, because, if you throw me into Johannesburg now I can live among Soweto gangs without any problem father’. (Makokoba interview 1)

Male youths from Bulawayo’s high density suburbs were in agreement that S'ncamtho borrows heavily from the Johannesburg variety. They also agreed that all male youth in the locations of Bulawayo knew S'ncamtho, although there are some who do not use it for one reason or the other. In their opinion, S'ncamtho has spread to all male youth in the high density suburbs of Bulawayo, as indicated by the interviewee in 5.2c below:

5.2c. *Wonk’umjida eSphakeni²⁶ uyasiqava islang samajida but, bakhona nje abafarisi²⁷ abangaringiyo bethi yistayila sabolova angithi bona sebeyakholwa.*

¹⁸ *Tshuna* [tʰuna] is from English ‘tune’ and is used in S'ncamtho to mean ‘do’. In tsotsitaal the word has several meanings such as ‘expertise’ and ‘work’. Available: <https://yomowo.com/sites/emama/16164122>. [2017, June 20].

¹⁹ It is a shortened version of ‘blue skies’ referring to Bulawayo as it was characterised by blue smoke from the industries

²⁰ *Ring* is ‘to speak’. Youth varieties in South Africa are sometimes called *ringers*. Available: <https://www.facebook.com/TsotsiTaal/posts/777688158974982> [2017, March 17].

²¹ The word *kasi* comes from the Afrikaans word *lokasie* which means ‘location’. Available: <https://www.facebook.com/TsotsiTaal/posts/777688158974982> [2017, March 17].

²² *Vet* is S'ncamtho for English. There is an etymology that suggests that it originates from veterinary as most “vets” were English in colonial and post colonial Zimbabwe. However, another source (available: <http://www.wordhippo.com/what-is/the-meaning-of/afrikaans-word-cd57239bd6edcd4567e20c0428102374f57993b4.html> [2017, June 20]) says the word is used in Afrikaans to mean fat and this could have been mapped onto whites in Zimbabwe who were privileged and could be fat both physically and metaphorically (an ‘economic fatness’).

²³ *Sampa* is ‘to talk’ in S'ncamtho. The etymology is not clear.

²⁴ Location is a *kasi*, at times written as *loxion*, meaning ‘black high density suburban areas’.

²⁵ *Mshishi* is another name for Johannesburg derived from the Nguni idiophone for crowd *ushishi*, describing the crowds of people in the city’s streets. Available: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Sigangala-Emshishi/439967532691589>. [2017, March 17].

²⁶ *ESphakeni* is a stylistic rendition of the toponym Pumula.

²⁷ *Abafarisi* is from English ‘Pharisees’ meaning male youth who love church as opposed to those who love gangsterism. It is from the Judeo-Christian Bible “Pharisees”.

‘All gents in Pumula know the gents slang but, there are other Pharisees that do not speak it saying it is the style for unemployed criminal gangs because they are now Christians’. (Pumula South interview 1).

The interviewee indicates that all male youth in the suburb of Pumula South know S'ncamtho, as all male youth in the area are connected. Referring to those who choose not to use S'ncamtho he notes that it is for religious reasons that they choose not to speak S'ncamtho as they think they may be seen by their older pastors as unsaved street gangs. This creates an impression that church youth, especially Christian ones, do not use S'ncamtho. This assumption is evaluated later on in the study using quantitative data from the questionnaires and observations. One of the Nkulumane interviewees echoes the same sentiments in 5.2d:

5.2d. *Izinja zami zonke eNkust²⁸ zikhonkotha iS'ncamtho bra yami mara bakhona abanye omember igenge zecast²⁹ so ezingasampiyo kodwa mara isiJida bayasqava.*

‘All my dogs in Nkulumane bark in S'ncamtho my brother, but there are some members the church gangs who do not speak it but they know it’ (Nkulumane interview 1).

The location male youth have varying opinions on the spread of S'ncamtho to male youth in the affluent suburbs of Bulawayo. Some think they are too foolish and sleepy to know it, while some think the use of S'ncamtho in the South African media has exposed the middle class male youth to the variety and they now know some S'ncamtho. Interviewee 1 in Makokoba indicates that:

5.2e. *Amasaladi³⁰ alele too much ngeke ayiqave iringaz bazi ukunyawuza isiVethi bezenza abeLungu.*

‘Salad boys are stupid they cannot understand our ringing all they know is to speak English as if they are white men’. (Makokoba interview 1).

He notes that the middle class boys from elitist suburbs of Bulawayo love to assimilate English identity and think they are different and better than other youth from lower classes and poor locations. He further notes that the richer male youth are too foolish in terms of being street wise to know S'ncamtho, as they speak African American English as their youth variety, not S'ncamtho. He raises an implication of animosity between the two youth groups within the city, with the richer male youth aligning with the coloniser while the location male youth are for liberation and arrogance towards white dominance.

However, a Nkulumane interviewee argues to the contrary, he indicates that almost all urban people in Zimbabwe now watch the South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) which utilises a lot of

²⁸*ENkust* is a stylised and shortened form of the toponym Nkulumane.

²⁹*Cast* [/ast] is a shortened form of the Ndebele word for ‘church’ -*ecaweni* [e/aweni].

³⁰*Salad* is the term used to refer to youth that love English in S'ncamtho especially those that went to grade “A” schools that learn English as a first language. It is from the food salad which is viewed as an elite dish.

iScamtho, which is close to if not the same as S'ncamtho. For this reason, he thinks the richer male youth are now exposed to S'ncamtho as he notes:

5.2f. *Manje angithi umuntu wonke sebuka iSABC so lamasaladi aseyadobha kancane lana kuS'ncamtho ungamangala okungobhare kweBurnside kutshaya esinye islang ebhampirini³¹ lakho.*

‘Now everyone watches South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) so even these rich now know some S'ncamtho it is not surprising that some fools from Burnside will get some of the slang in your questionnaire right’. (Nkulumane interview 2).

Interviewees are in agreement that S'ncamtho is an urban variety that does not operate fully outside location male youth and females to some extent. An interviewee in Nkulumane actually scoffs at the idea that rural male youth can speak S'ncamtho:

5.2g. *Hahaha edluri³² ngeke kube lamajida abafana bakhona bakhuluma isintu baba njengabomagriza³³.*

‘Hahaha there cannot be gents in the rural areas, boys there speak Ndebele like old ladies’. (Nkulumane interview 1).

He indicates that boys in the rural areas stick to the formal and vernacular Ndebele codes as they are not fluent in S'ncamtho. They however, note that there are some terms in S'ncamtho that they believe have crossed to rural areas, but common practices of S'ncamtho culture such as Kwaito, street corner gathering and social media are not wholly compatible with rural areas.

Turning to location girls, they all agree that location girls know S'ncamtho, but most cannot speak it for fear of being labelled loose or lesbian. They believe that S'ncamtho is a masculine variety and a girl fluent in S'ncamtho could be mistaken for a lesbian or prostitute. This view is echoed by Rudwick, Nkomo and Shange (2006) and Maribe and Brookes (2014). One interviewee in Makokoba argues that:

5.2h. *Otsheri manje sebengatomboy seberinga njengamajida. Vele sesishela ngeslang sikhonjwe once. Kodwa abanye otsheri bascreka ukuthi bangaringa bayakhanya njengabomahotsha.*

‘Now girls are tom boys they speak like boys. We now propose to them in slang and we are loved at once. But, other girls fear that when they speak S'ncamtho they may be seen as prostitutes’ (Makokoba interview 1).

According to Pumula male youth, female youth in the locations are now a force to reckon with in S'ncamtho and they converse with the female youth in S'ncamtho too. However, they note that girls generally do not like S'ncamtho especially rural ones -this is also echoed by Hurst (2008). Rural life in Ndebele is more conservative as compared to urban life and this situation guides interviewees’ opinions on the spread of

³¹*Bhampiri* is borrowed from Tswana meaning ‘paper’ and in S'ncamtho it means the same.

³²*Edluri* is S'ncamtho for ‘rural areas’. The researcher could not identify the etymology.

³³*Magriza* is the stylised and shortened version of ‘grandmother’ used to refer to grandmothers in S'ncamtho.

S'ncamtho to youth in the rural areas. An interviewee in Pumula South notes that girls do not love S'ncamtho because they are not male and the situation is worse with rural females:

5.2i. *Otsheri kabasithandi isiJida vele kasiwo majida omama bedluri* worse.

‘Girls do not like S'ncamtho anywhere, they are not gents. It is worse with rural women’. (Pumula South interview 1).

The location male youth note in interviews that location adults, including their parents, now know and even speak S'ncamtho to some level. There are some location male youth who think that S'ncamtho and other youth slang are created to exclude adults, especially parents, from youth talk, but now they understand that many urban adults now understand S'ncamtho. Adults who speak S'ncamtho grow older and continue using it and they learn new S'ncamtho from the youth. The interviewees point out that while S'ncamtho is initially meant to hide communication from adults it has lost this function. One Makokoba youth says:

5.2j. *Islang yethu yenzelwa ukuthi abadala bangezwa kodwa abadala beloksion ngeke ubadribule³⁴ ngetaal bayakubamba.*

‘Our slang was created in such a way that adults should not understand, but you cannot trust old men here in the location they will catch you’. (Makokoba interview 2).

Physical space in low income urban houses is small and this reduces social distance between the location male youth and their parents as compared to the situation in affluent suburbs and rural areas. This creates instances whereby S'ncamtho is used by parents and their children, especially male children. Msimang (1987) notes that tsotsitaal is a register regulated by respect in Zulu. An interviewee in Pumula South indicates that he is closer to his mother, not his father, and for that reason he can speak S'ncamtho to his mother but not to his father:

5.2k. *Itayima lilomozisi³⁵ sbali ngeke ngisampe islang lalo kodwa umaledi ngiyamfundisa nje athuke kodwa esizwa.*

‘My father is short tempered my friend I cannot speak slang to him but with mother I teach her, she will scold me but she understands’. (Pumula South interview 2).

The general feeling among interviewed male youth is that their fathers understand more S'ncamtho than mothers, but it is easier to engage mothers in S'ncamtho than fathers. They note that fathers speak S'ncamtho with peers at work and in the bars but are not comfortable speaking it to their sons and daughters.

Location male youth assume that S'ncamtho spreads within high density suburbs before moving to other areas in the city, and that rural areas have less S'ncamtho compared to Bulawayo environs. There are other towns in the provinces that speak Ndebele in Zimbabwe such as Gwanda, Hwange, Plumtree and Victoria

³⁴*Ukudribula* is ‘to cheat’ in S'ncamtho from the English soccer term ‘dribble’.

³⁵*Umozisi* is stylised Ndebele *umoya* (to be angry or short tempered) to mean ‘short tempered’ in S'ncamtho.

Falls. The interviewees believe that these towns are too small to have a vibrant community of S'ncamtho speakers. One interviewee notes that these towns are not Ndebele dominated towns like Bulawayo and as such they cannot have many S'ncamtho speakers as highlighted in 5.21 below:

5.21. *ISkies yiyo ephethe istayila sokuncamtha ungasthola kancane kuboGwanda laboFolosi. EHarare kutaurwa esabomkoma isindeipi.*

‘Bulawayo is the hub for the S'ncamtho style you can find a bit in Gwanda and Victoria Falls. In Harare they speak the Shona based slang’. (Pumula South interview 2).

The interviewee also notes that Zimbabwe has only two types of youth varieties- S'ncamtho and the Shona-based one in Harare which he terms *isiNdeipi*, *ndeipi* being the popular Shona slang for greeting. There are some rural areas according to him that have more S'ncamtho than towns such as Hwange and Victoria Falls which are predominantly Nambya and Tonga towns. An interviewee in Nkulumane indicates that S'ncamtho may not have covered the whole of Ndebele speaking areas as a full-fledged variety, but there are S'ncamtho elements that are now common to all Ndebele speakers in both urban and rural areas. He further states that some of these are even used by people outside the Ndebele speech community:

5.2m. *Kukhona ukuringa okwaziwa ngumuntu wonke eBlues abadala labancane; ozithini³⁶, ziyakhipha, ispano, ismoko, wayawaya³⁷ uyabo! Ingcosi³⁸ zesgela lentshebe ziyakwazi lokhu.*

‘There are S'ncamtho terms that are known by everyone in Bulawayo both youth and old alike; *zithini*, *ziyakhipha*, *is'pano*, *is'moko*, *wayawaya* and so on, school children and old people know these’. (Nkulumane interview 1).

According to location male youth, S'ncamtho is uniquely Bulawayo, urban, and popular among location male youth. However, there are some elements of the variety that have survived the test of time and found their way into Ndebele.

5.2.1 Summary on Bulawayo high density male youth's views on S'ncamtho familiarity and usage.

There are S'ncamtho terms that are now common across all areas where Ndebele is spoken and these are continually growing. The interviewed Bulawayo male youth in the locations, highlight a trend whereby S'ncamtho has spread to all male youth in the locations and partially to other areas within the city. They perceive the spread is less in rural areas. The interviews indicate that the spread is rapid and more among males than females. Location dwellers, male and female, young and old are credited with knowing more

³⁶*Zithini* ‘how are things’ is a popular S'ncamtho greeting genre. Hurst and Buthelezi (2014) found the same meaning in tsotsitaal and they say it is from Zulu – *zithini ingane* ‘what are your children saying’

³⁷*Wayawaya* is S'ncamtho used to refer to something that goes on and on without stopping.

³⁸*Ingcosi* is S'ncamtho for ‘child’ taken from Ndebele *ngcosana* which means ‘small’.

S'ncamtho compared to their counterparts in the richer suburbs and rural areas. The views on the spread of S'ncamtho as espoused by Bulawayo location male youth are tested through quantitative data from questionnaire tests on familiarity and usage to evaluate the qualitative spread of S'ncamtho within Ndebele speakers in Zimbabwe.

5.3 Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents' questionnaire data and observations on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors by professionals.

The questionnaires that were filled by key respondents generate more S'ncamtho metaphors that are not part of the 88 collected for the study. The additional metaphors indicate that there is knowledge and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors across locations, age and sex. S'ncamtho has been spread through social learning; this is why the population samples could give more S'ncamtho metaphors. Nettle (1999:96) sees language as a cultural trait and notes that 'for the purposes of evolutionary models, linguistic norms can be seen as an instance of a more general construct, the cultural trait. A cultural trait is any piece of information which is transmitted through a human community by social learning'.

S'ncamtho operates in professional workplaces today, at least based on the observations. The discussion at the end of this section suggests that S'ncamtho has penetrated professions and most professionals use it at work with each other and only change to Ndebele or English when they address clients. Some even go on to use it with some of their clients.

5.3.1 Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondent questionnaire data

The number of S'ncamtho metaphors collected from questionnaires show that the variety has been spreading and continues to spread. There could be multiple originators of S'ncamtho metaphors. Table 5.3a below highlights some of the S'ncamtho metaphors that are given in questionnaires by key respondents in Pumula North.

Table 5.3a: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from Pumula North questionnaires

no	S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphoric meaning and etymology	Sources
1	<i>ideyiri</i>	a dairy	breast- from English dairy for milk products	male youth, female youth
2	<i>umshoza</i>	<i>mshoza</i>	girlfriend- from Mshoza ³⁹	male youth
3	<i>izabha</i>	a suburb	house- shortening and styling of English suburb	young adult males
4	<i>nkabi yami</i>	my ox	my friend- from Ndebele culture as an ox is dependable	young adult males
5	<i>kumanzi</i>	it is wet	things are well-from Ndebele for wet ground which is easy to till	male youth, female adults
6	<i>ukuphikha</i>	to pick	to be drunk- from English music terminology “picking the tempo”	female young adults
7	<i>ukudwadla imaski</i>	to wear a mask	to be sad- from English wearing a musk	female youth
8	<i>ukutshis'amaphatsi</i>	to burn parts	to spoil- from electronics where burnt parts do not work	young adult males
9	<i>ukupakitsha/ikupaka</i>	to pack/have packed	big female behind- from English packed/loaded	male adults
10	<i>ukuphayipha</i>	to pipe	have sex/male- from English pipe, the penis is likened to a pipe	male adults
11	<i>hamba juba sokulamachicken cuts</i>	go dove we now have chicken cuts	used when boasting of a new thing ⁴⁰	adult females
12	<i>ukuxubha uginya</i>	to brush teeth and swallow tooth paste	to be foolish- typifies someone who does not know how to use toothpaste	female youth
13	<i>indlela ibuzwa kugoogle</i>	you ask for directions from google	warning people to get advice from trusted sources such as google ⁴¹	male youth, female adults

Questionnaires that were distributed in Pumula North generate thirteen more S'ncamtho metaphors that have not been part of the study so far. The thirteen metaphors are uniquely collected from Pumula North data only

³⁹ Available: <https://www.last.fm/music/Mshoza/> [2017, March 20] - taken from *Mshoza* the stage name for Nomasonto Maswanganyi AKA Mshoza, a beautiful South African female musician and dancer who has courted controversy by her skin bleaching.

⁴⁰ Adapted from the Ndebele proverb *hamba juba bayokucutha phambili* ('go dove they will de-feather you ahead')-chicken cuts are bigger and better than dove meat.

⁴¹ Adapted from an Ndebele proverb *indlela ibuzwa kwabaphambili* ('ask directions from those ahead') Google is a trusted source of knowledge.

and no other site has similar metaphors. Most of the new S'ncamtho metaphors are given by male youth respondents however, all groups contribute at least a metaphor. Most of the metaphors from Pumula North exhibit an English bias whereby English words and concepts are borrowed to derive the metaphors. This confirms the urban lifestyle lived by the respondents from the site. Questionnaires from peri-urban sites are combined and analysed for additional metaphors. The results are reflected in Table 5.3b below.

Table 5.3b: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from Peri-urban questionnaires

No	S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphoric meaning and etymology	Sources
1	<i>umfesi wami</i>	my face	friend- from English face ⁴²	Lower Gwelo male youth
2	<i>ibhebbhi</i>	Baby	girlfriend- from Shona slang for girlfriend derived from English	Lower Gwelo male youth and young adult females
3	<i>amangonjo</i>	the <i>ngonjos</i>	police- from Shona slang for police <i>mangonjo</i> ⁴³	Lower Gwelo male youth and Maphisa male youth
4	<i>iphrosi</i>	a process/processed	a thing/doing something- from English process	Solusi male youth
5	<i>amawani</i>	ones	trouble- from Shona slang for trouble <i>mawhani</i> ⁴⁴	Lower Gwelo male youth

The peri-urban sites contribute five unique S'ncamtho metaphors and these are mostly from the Lower Gwelo peri-urban centre. Four out of five of the additional S'ncamtho metaphors from peri-urban sites come from Lower Gwelo. They are all borrowed from the Shona urban youth variety. Lower Gwelo peri-urban centre is situated in an area that has Shona influence near Gweru city, a predominantly Shona area. Other areas may not use or appreciate the type of S'ncamtho metaphors given by Lower Gwelo respondents as they are far from Shona influence. Male and female youth are the providers for the additional S'ncamtho metaphors in peri-urban sites. Table 5.3c below gives additional S'ncamtho metaphors that are gathered from rural key respondents' questionnaire data.

⁴² A friend is someone who is always with you, like your face.

⁴³ Taken from the onomatopoeic sound of handcuffs used by police to arrest people

⁴⁴ Good life involves having high cash figures, and one is a very low figure, indicating financial trouble. This is extended to mean all trouble.

Table 5.3c: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from rural questionnaires

No	S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphoric meaning and etymology	Sources
1	<i>ithayisoni</i>	a tyson	a fight- from Mike Tyson ⁴⁵	Donsa male youth
2	<i>uzond'umoya</i>	one who hates wind	slim person- hates wind because it may blow them away	Inyathi Male adults
3	<i>thithi</i>	a <i>titi</i>	small- from a type of small hound called <i>titisi</i> in Ndebele	Donsa young adult males
4	<i>ibhluthuthi</i>	Bluetooth	witchcraft- from Bluetooth ⁴⁶ technology that connects without wires	Brunapeg male youth, Inyathi young adult females
5	<i>isaka</i>	a sack	money- taken from English sack to mean plenty	Donsa male youth
6	<i>ukulala</i>	to sleep	to be stupid- taken from Ndebele for sleeping	Inyathi adult males
7	<i>ukukhama utsotsi</i>	to strangle a tsotsi	defecating- squeezing is linked to strangling ⁴⁷	Donsa male youth
8	<i>ukuthwala umhlaba</i>	to carry the earth	to die- when one is buried earth is put over them	Inyathi adult females
9	<i>akulahlwa bhanti ngokuthenga ihovolosi</i>	you do not throw away a belt after buying an overcoat	warning people from forgetting the past because of good life ⁴⁸	Brunapeg male youth

Questionnaires from the three rural sites produce nine additional S'ncamtho metaphors that can be analysed and proven to be typical S'ncamtho metaphors. The S'ncamtho metaphors from the rural sites do not feature in questionnaire data from other sites. The S'ncamtho metaphors from rural sites exhibit a bias towards rural life and concepts such as witchcraft, using the bush for a toilet and weather elements such as wind. There are some relatively older forms of S'ncamtho metaphors given by the adult groups such as *uzond'umoyo* 'one who hates the wind', meaning a thin person who fears to be blown by the wind, *ukulala* 'to sleep', referring

⁴⁵ Available: <http://www.biography.com/people/mike-tyson-9512980> [2017, March 20] -Mike Tyson became the youngest heavyweight boxing champion of the world in 1986, at age 20.

⁴⁶ Available: <https://www.bluetooth.com/what-is-bluetooth-technology/how-it-works> [2017, March 20] -A Bluetooth® device uses radio waves instead of wires or cables to connect to a phone or computer.

⁴⁷ In rural areas some people still use the bush for a toilet, and tsotsis hide behind bushes before pouncing on people who they plan to rob, hence going behind the bush to defecate is going to strangle the tsotsi behind the bush.

⁴⁸ Adapted from a Ndebele proverb "*akulahlwa mbeleko ngokufelwa*" ('do not throw away the towel after the baby dies') used to give hope

to sexual intercourse and *ukuthwala umhlaba* ‘to carry the earth’, meaning to be buried. There were some typically urban metaphors that are added by rural respondents such as *ithayisoni* ‘Tyson’, meaning a fight and *isaka* ‘a sack’, meaning a lot of money. There are some additional S'ncamtho metaphors that are collected across sites, they are either found in rural and urban sites, rural and peri-urban sites or across the three sites. These are analysed in Table 5.3d below.

Table 5.3d: Additional S'ncamtho metaphors collected from questionnaires across sites

No	S'ncamtho metaphor	Literal meaning	Metaphoric meaning and etymology	Sources
1	<i>inyoni</i>	a bird	a fool ⁴⁹ / a girlfriend ⁵⁰	Pumula North male youth, Donsa male youth
2	<i>inkomo</i>	a cow	ugly girl ⁵¹ / benefactor ⁵²	Pumula North male youth, Brunapeg male adults
3	<i>ikopo</i>	a kop	head/brain- from Afrikaans kop ⁵³	Solusi male youth, Inyathi female youth
4	<i>ikleva</i>	a clever	a clever person/streetwise- from English clever	Pumula North, Inyathi and Donsa male youth
5	<i>iskim</i>	my skim	friend- from South African slang <i>skeem</i> for friend	Pumula North, Brunapeg Male youth, Solusi female youth
6	<i>kuyiswi</i>	it is <i>swi</i>	it is ok- <i>swi</i> is a tsotsitaal sound associated with expressing good	Donsa, Lower Gwelo, male youth, Brunapeg young adult females
7	<i>ukuphapha</i>	to fly	to be proud- taken from Ndebele to fly above other people	Inyathi, Hillside, Pumula North male youth, Solusi adult females
8	<i>kumnandi</i>	it is sweet	it is good- from Ndebele for sweet	Brunapeg male adults, Lower Gwelo adult males
9	<i>ukubasweni</i>	to be at the dog	to be in trouble- a dog bites so it is trouble to be where it is	Pumula North, Donsa, male youth, Inyathi, Pumula North male adults
10	<i>ukuthanda</i>	to like things like	warning people to be content with	Pumula North adult females, Maphisa

⁴⁹ In Pumula North *inyoni* is ‘fool’ taken from caged birds which cannot do anything but wait to be fed, like fools who cannot think and make money.

⁵⁰ In Donsa *inyoni* is ‘girlfriend’ from the fact that rural boys go out to hunt birds just as they look for girls.

⁵¹ In Pumula North *inkomo* is ‘an ugly girl’, taken from the shape of a cow’s face.

⁵² In Brunapeg *inkomo* is ‘someone from whom you benefit’, because rural Ndebele life depends on cattle for meat, milk, leather, and draught power.

⁵³ Available: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/kop> [2017, March 20] -Kop (sense 2) from Afrikaans, from Dutch, literally ‘head’ (compare with cop). *kop* (sense 1) comes from the name of Spioen Kop, site of a Boer War battle in which troops from Lancashire led the assault (Liverpool then being part of Lancashire).

	<i>izinto njengephepha bheki</i>	a paper bag	what they have not to want everything like a shopping bag- new S'ncamtho saying	young adult females
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There are ten additional S'ncamtho metaphors that are given in questionnaires across sites. Most of them are shared by respondents from the Pumula North urban site, while the few given by Hillside respondents are not additional as they have been used previously in the study. Some of the words are given different metaphorical meanings by different respondents, for example urban and rural respondents. The first two *inyoni* 'bird' and *inkomo* 'cow' have different meanings for urban and rural respondents. In Pumula North, *Inyoni* 'bird' is given as 'a fool' while in Donsa it is 'a girlfriend'. The differences appear to be based on the differences that exist between urban and rural life in Zimbabwe.

5.3.2 Observations on the use of S'ncamtho metaphors in professional environments

While S'ncamtho is informal and counts as misconduct in most professional communication it is present in work places and churches. Pastors, broadcasters and nurses appear to use it with their clients, while teachers have some difficulty using it in the classroom. Observations in hospitals, schools and churches yielded the following examples of S'ncamtho usage by these professionals:

5.3.2a. *Laphana azikhuphi⁵⁴ tshomi⁵⁵ okutopi⁵⁶ kuyavaya⁵⁷ lokhuyana.*

'There, things are not fine my friend that old man is going.' (Female nurses talking to each other about a patient- Inyathi rural hospital).

5.3.2b. *Yini ebelisesmokweni⁵⁸ sekombi?*

'Are you the ones who were in the taxi trouble'? (Male nurse asking a patient- United Bulawayo Hospitals).

5.3.2c. *Tshuks⁵⁹ thuma okuMawillies⁶⁰ kusigaye ivathi kahololo⁶¹.*

'Tshuks send Mawillies to get us water for tea' (Male teachers and a male student in a Bulawayo High School).

⁵⁴ S'ncamtho metaphor for 'good' literally meaning 'removing' explained in chapter three.

⁵⁵ S'ncamtho term for 'friend'.

⁵⁶ S'ncamtho metaphor for 'father' or 'old man'.

⁵⁷ S'ncamtho metaphor for 'dying' taken from iScamtho *vaya* 'to go' it comes from Afrikaans *waai* 'wave' from the waving done by someone leaving.

⁵⁸ S'ncamtho metaphor for 'trouble' taken from the English term *smoke*.

⁵⁹ S'ncamtho stylistic rendition of the surname Tshuma.

⁶⁰ S'ncamtho stylistic rendition of the name William.

⁶¹ Gaya is S'ncamtho metaphor for 'giving' while *ivathi* is S'ncamtho for 'water' taken from Afrikaans.

5.3.2d. *Haleluya intsha ithi halala sigcwala*⁶² ngoJesu.

‘Hallelujah the youth say halalala we love Jesus.’ (Male Pastor and youth congregants- Bulawayo Pentecostal church).

5.3.2e. *Usathane somtshela gera giza fire, sizomtshayela ichaps*⁶³.

‘We will tell Satan *gera giza* fire, we will embarrass him.’ (Male pastor preaching- Bulawayo Pentecostal church).

5.3.2f. *Zithini*⁶⁴ *baba yehlisa ivolume thwathi*⁶⁵, *umasalu*⁶⁶ *useduze yini?*

‘How are you man, reduce your volume a bit, is your mother nearby.’ (Male broadcaster on a youth phone in programme).

The case of female nurses using S'ncamtho to discuss a patient's condition is an example that S'ncamtho is used by professionals at their work places. A male nurse takes S'ncamtho further in one instance when he asks an injured patient in S'ncamtho whether he was in the taxi that was involved in an accident; here is an example of S'ncamtho used by a nurse to a patient. Teachers are careful not to use S'ncamtho in classes but common S'ncamtho greetings such as *zithini* ‘what are they saying’, *zikhuphani* ‘what are they removing’, are used, especially by male teachers in classes. Some popular S'ncamtho lexis used by teachers to students in classes include *tshomi* ‘friend’, *kuyayilahla* ‘things are bad’, *amajida* ‘boys’ and *gaya* ‘think’. Urban Pentecostal churches appear to focus on the youth, and both pastors and congregants have a youthful flair. They play HipHop type music and even re-mix circular songs in church. However, orthodox churches in both urban and rural environments are not comfortable with S'ncamtho- only the most common S'ncamtho lexis can be heard in these churches, especially on youth programmes. The programme *Ezabatsha* ‘Youth matters’ on radio Zimbabwe uses S'ncamtho as the main language. The programme host joins the youth in speaking S'ncamtho and he even goes on to review trending S'ncamtho terms on the programme. Youth, both male and female, talk in S'ncamtho when they phone in and they appear to compete as to who *rings* better S'ncamtho than the others on the programme.

⁶² S'ncamtho metaphor for ‘love’ taken from Ndebele *gcwala* ‘to be filled with’.

⁶³ This common youth slogan for despising and insulting opponents is used by girls to embarrass someone. They do this by turning and showing you their panties.

⁶⁴ S'ncamtho greeting.

⁶⁵ S'ncamtho metaphor for ‘little’ or ‘small’.

⁶⁶ S'ncamtho metaphor for ‘mother’.

5.3.3 Summary on Additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents and use of S'ncamtho metaphors by professionals

A total of thirty seven additional S'ncamtho metaphors were collected from questionnaires as respondents were asked to give other S'ncamtho metaphors they knew and their meanings. Table 5.3.3 below reflects the total additional S'ncamtho metaphors by site and age group. The totals per age group may exceed the site total because the same metaphor can be given by two or more age groups.

Table 5.3.3 Summary of additional S'ncamtho metaphors from key respondents

Site	Additional metaphors	Male youth	Female youth	Young adult males	Young adult females	Male adults	Female adults
Urban	13	4	3	3	1	2	2
Peri-urban	5	4	-	-	1		
Rural	9	4	-	1	1	2	1
Across sites	10	8	2		2	3	2
Total	37	20	5	4	5	7	5

Pumula North, representing location urban sites, has the highest number of additional S'ncamtho metaphors, followed by those metaphors that are found across sites. Rural respondents have more additional S'ncamtho metaphors compared to peri-urban sites. Hillside does not have unique additional metaphors but repeated those that are already collected and one additional metaphor which they share with other sites. Males have a combined total of 31 additional S'ncamtho metaphors compared to the combined female total of 15 and this confirms that males know and use S'ncamtho more than females. The combined total for the youth is 25 additional S'ncamtho metaphors compared to the combined adult total of 12. This shows that S'ncamtho is still used by the youth more than it is used by adults. The number of additional S'ncamtho metaphors that come from across sites confirms that S'ncamtho has spread from Bulawayo to peri-urban and rural areas in Ndebele speaking areas of Zimbabwe.

All professionals observed use some S'ncamtho metaphors when talking to each other at work and some use them in conducting business. Male nurses even use S'ncamtho as they communicate to patients. Teachers use S'ncamtho amongst themselves outside classes, and they also use S'ncamtho with their students, but when it comes to teaching they try to avoid S'ncamtho. Pentecostal pastors use S'ncamtho in their preaching especially when addressing the youth. Broadcasters speak S'ncamtho with the youth on youth programmes.

5.4 Questionnaire tests data on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

A total of fourteen euphemistic and argot S'ncamtho metaphors are categorised into the B series of the questionnaire tests and are numbered from B1 to B14. A further six S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings are categorised into the C series of the questionnaire tests and they are numbered from C1 to C6. The last section of the tests is the aphorism metaphor category labelled as the D series and numbered from D1 to D10.

The tests were administered to a sample of five respondents per age group in each location under study and the respondents were asked to either give the meaning in Ndebele or English or to indicate familiarity in the case of the C series metaphors. The respondents were further tasked to indicate all metaphors they used in their day to day discourse, and professional respondents were asked to indicate those metaphors they used in their lines of duty. Questionnaire tests were administered to six age and sex groups in the areas of Pumula North, Hillside, Maphisa, Lower Gwelo, Solusi, Inyathi, Brunapeg and Donsa. Some were also administered on professionals including pastors, teachers, nurses, television and radio broadcasters and print media journalists. The key respondents were divided into male and female in the age categories of youth 15-25 years, young adults 26-36 years and adults 37-65 years. A total of fourteen euphemistic and argot S'ncamtho metaphors were used to test familiarity and usage. The answers that the test sought are given in Table 5.4a below and it gives Ndebele equivalents where they are found.

Table 5.4a: 14 B series S'ncamtho euphemistic and argot metaphors used in familiarity and usage tests

N ^o	Meaning	S'ncamtho metaphor	English gloss	Ndebele metaphor	English gloss	N ^o per grp
B1	sexual intercourse (male)	<i>ukutshaya inyawo</i>	to hit the legs	<i>ukukhwela</i>	to mount	5
B2	big female butt	<i>i-ake</i>	an arch	<i>insuzela kude</i>	a further puffer	5
B3	anal sex	<i>imanyuwa</i>	manure	-	-	5
B4	hiring a prostitute	<i>ukukhetsha</i>	to catch	<i>ukudobha</i>	to pick	5
B5	prostituting	<i>ukuhotsha</i>	to suck	<i>ukupendeka</i>	unsettled	5
B6	male condom	<i>isidi (CD)</i>	compact disc	<i>ijazi lomkhwenyana</i>	a son in law's jacket	5
B7	menstruation	<i>iroboti</i>	red robot	<i>ukugeza</i>	to bath	5

		<i>elibomvu</i>				
B8	loose girl	<i>ukulahla</i>	to throw	<i>igabha</i>	an open tin	5
B9	ARVs	<i>amajusikhadi</i>	juice cards	<i>impilo</i>	Life	5
B10	too drunk	<i>ukunokha</i>	to knock	<i>ukuphela</i>	to be finished	5
B11	police officer	<i>ihata</i>	a hater	<i>amajoni</i>	jonnies	5
B12	dying	<i>ukuklara</i>	to finish	<i>kuthula</i>	to be silent	5
B13	toilet	<i>i-eyitini</i>	an eighteen	<i>indlu encane</i>	small house	5
B14	girl friend	<i>umzukululu</i>	niece	<i>intombi</i>	a virgin	5
Grand total per age group 14 metaphors x 5 respondents						70

The fourteen euphemistic and argot metaphors give a possible total familiarity of seventy and a possible usage of seventy per age group. For example in Donsa male youth, the five males used in the tests give a total of seventy if they get all metaphors correct and another seventy if they use all fourteen metaphors. Juxtaposing S'ncamtho and Ndebele metaphors is meant to show that using S'ncamtho metaphors in most cases is optional. The C series has six sayings in S'ncamtho. Respondents were asked to indicate familiarity and usage as they are proverbial and self-explanatory and asking for meanings could lead to confusion and ambiguity. Table 5.4b below gives the six sayings used in the tests under the C series.

Table 5.4b: 6 C series S'ncamtho proverbs and sayings used in familiarity and usage tests

N°	S'ncamtho metaphor	English gloss	Ndebele metaphor	English gloss	N° per grp
C1	<i>ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning</i>	family planning stops people from multiplying	<i>ukwanda kwaliwa ngabathakathi</i>	witches stops people from multiplying	5
C2	<i>amapatapata awela abangela mazwane</i>	slippers fall on those without toes	<i>amajodo awela abangelambiza</i>	melons fall on those without pots	5
C3	<i>icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo</i>	tooth paste is not the only thing that preserve teeth	-	-	5
C4	<i>ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela</i>	crying while you work like a candle	-	-	5
C5	<i>ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njenge sepa</i>	worn away by a job like soap	-	-	5
C6	<i>ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka</i>	to be rough like a wooden bed	-	-	5
Grand total per age group 6 metaphors x 5 respondents					30

The C series was filled by five respondents per group and the possible totals are thirty for both familiarity and usage. Only two have Ndebele equivalents as they are modifications of Ndebele proverbs while the rest are new sayings in S'ncamtho that have proven to be popular with location male youth and are tested for familiarity and usage on other Ndebele speakers.

The tests were completed by ten S'ncamtho aphorisms in the D series of the tests and in this section of the tests the same applied as in the B series, respondents were asked to fill in the meaning and indicate usage. Ndebele has its own aphorisms in this section. Respondents were tested on their ability to identify S'ncamtho and indicate whether they use the S'ncamtho. Table 5.4c below gives the ten S'ncamtho aphorisms and the expected answers.

Table 5.4c: 10 D series S'ncamtho aphorism metaphors used in familiarity and usage tests

N°	Meaning	S'ncamtho metaphor	English gloss	Ndebele metaphor	English gloss	N° per grp
D1	to be proud	<i>ukuzifonela</i>	phoning self	<i>ukuziphakamisa</i>	to raise oneself	5
D2	to be foolish	<i>ukudlisepa</i>	eating soap	<i>ukubayisilima</i>	to be a lunatic	5
D3	Schooling	<i>ukugeleza</i>	flowing	<i>ukubala</i>	to read	5
D4	to be in trouble	<i>ukungen'amanzi</i>	to be flooded	<i>ukuthwala amagabha avuzayo</i>	to carry leaking tins	5
D5	good times	<i>ziyakhipha</i>	they are removing	<i>kumnandi</i>	it is sweet	5
D6	my friend	<i>inja yami</i>	my dog	<i>amathe lolimi</i>	saliva and tongue	5
D7	to cheat	<i>ukutshayats haya</i>	to beat beat	<i>ukuvala amehlo</i>	to blind fold	5
D8	to propose love	<i>ukufaka ilayini</i>	to put a line	<i>ukuzibika</i>	to introduce yourself	5
D9	to spoil or tricky situation	<i>ukuyilahla</i>	to be off tune	<i>ukulumela</i>	chewing soil	5
D10	to trick	<i>ukutshaya theninothi</i>	to beat ten to zero	<i>ukubambisa ilitshe</i>	to make one hold a stationary rock	5
Grand total per age group 10 metaphors x 5 respondents						50

Given that the table above has ten metaphors, the expected possible totals for familiarity and usage per age group are both fifty. Each respondent gave an answer to each of the thirty metaphors in the three sections; B-14 metaphors, C-6 metaphors and D-10 metaphors. The data represented and analysed for familiarity and usage uses the totals; B-70, C-30 and D-50 to compare the variables of familiarity and usage across age and sex within the same research site and the research goes on to compare using the same possible totals across sites and among professionals. Tables in 5.4.1 below represent familiarity and usage results for each urban site, and within each site, the results are totalled by age group, sex and metaphor series.

5.4.1 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from Bulawayo urban

Bulawayo urban tests were conducted in Pumula North high density suburb and Hillside low density suburb. The two places are chosen to represent two different samples of urban dwellers in the city. Pumula North is the typical “*kasi*” where the black population of Bulawayo has lived since colonial times and it has been home to many unskilled workers and unemployed youth. Hillside on the other hand is a formerly whites only spacious suburb that is characterised by affluence and affinity to European culture and standards. Male youth in Pumula North use a lot of S'ncamtho while male youth in Hillside are inclined to English-based youth varieties and black American English. Table 5.4.1a below is a representation of questionnaire test results in Pumula North indicating familiarity and usage grades and totals per group and per metaphor series.

Table 5.4.1a: Pumula North metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group	Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
15-25 yrs Youth	Male	68	61	29	25	50	50	147	136
	Female	64	40	20	15	44	33	128	88
26-36 yrs Young Adults	Male	67	56	24	19	48	40	139	115
	Female	60	15	14	8	46	26	120	49
37-65 yrs Adults	Male	45	36	26	22	37	30	108	88
	Female	41	14	17	10	31	11	89	35
Total		345	222	130	99	256	190	731	511
Possible total		420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

The familiarity results for B show that male youth have the highest familiarity of 68/70 followed by male young adults with 67/70. Female youth are third with 64/70 followed by female young adults with 60/70, male adults are at 45/70 only above their female counterparts with 42/70. The results for B familiarity in Pumula North indicate that all groups are above the 50% mark and there is a decline with gender and age. Male youth also get the highest usage result for B at 62/70 followed by male young adults. It is interesting to note that the trend is that usage is lower than familiarity in all groups but the lowest grades are in female young adults and adults who are both clearly below the 50% usage mark. The difference between familiarity and usage in female young adults for example is 46 and the difference in female adults is 38. In the C series male youth familiarity is 100% and the surprise runners up are male adults above all other age groups including male young adults. The six metaphors in C are either translations of Ndebele proverbs or relatively older formulations that could be “out of fashion”. The D series has the highest familiarity and usage in

Pumula North with male youth recording 100% familiarity and usage. The difference between familiarity and usage in the D series increases in adult females however, the D series are the only series that recorded a familiarity range of 62%-100%. The urban familiarity and usage data compares Pumula North and Hillside which is represented by the results in table 5.4.1b below.

Table 5.4.1b: Hillside metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group		Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
			F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25	Youth	Male	47	28	15	7	30	23	92	58
		Female	35	22	14	8	28	21	77	51
yrs 26-36	Young Adults	Male	58	33	17	11	42	33	117	77
		Female	43	12	10	8	34	19	87	39
yrs 37 - 65	Adults	Male	42	29	27	15	34	23	103	67
		Female	32	13	14	11	31	25	77	49
Total			257	137	97	60	199	144	553	341
Possible total			420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

Compared to Pumula North, Hillside results show a decline in all sections and groups except for the adult groups. The highest familiarity score for B is among male young adults with 58/70 and all usage for B is below the 50% mark. Male youth have the second highest familiarity score in B of 47/70, young adult females and male adults are all above female youth in B familiarity. Usage results for B are all lower than the familiarity grades and much lower than the Pumula North results in the youth and young adults groups. Hillside adult males have the highest familiarity and usage results for the C series 26/30 and 14/30 respectively, followed by male young adults. In the D series familiarity, male young adults have the highest score of 42/50 and the rest are all above the 50% familiarity mark. Kanji (1995) argues that at independence in 1980, many black Zimbabweans moved to low density suburbs and this is why Hillside male and female adults perform almost as well as their Pumula North counterparts in the tests. This trend can be because most adults in low density areas in Bulawayo grew up in the high density areas and through education and political independence, they bought houses in places like Hillside but still had the *kasi* lingo and culture. Unlike their children who are born into a western type culture, parents in Hillside display better knowledge and usage of S'ncamtho than their children.

5.4.1.1 Summary and conclusions on urban familiarity and usage

The difference between Pumula North and Hillside results indicate that S'ncamtho is more popular in the high density areas of Bulawayo than in the affluent suburbs. Pumula North results confirm views from male youth in other high density areas that all male youth in the lower income suburbs are familiar with S'ncamtho and they use it more than other age groups across the sex line. Hillside results also confirm that male youth in affluent areas are not as fluent in S'ncamtho as their high density counterparts. Youth in the affluent suburbs use more of the English based youth variety and this affects their familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. Both female and male youth in Pumula North score higher than their adult counterparts, yet in Hillside adults score higher than the youth as most of them grew up in the lower class suburbs speaking S'ncamtho and they continue to learn new S'ncamtho as their children learn more of the urban youth English.

5.4.2 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from peri-urban areas

The familiarity and usage tests were also administered in three peri-urban sites of Maphisa, Lower Gwelo and Solusi. The tabular representations are similar to those used to represent urban results. The familiarity and usage results are first analysed and compared within the same site and then results from the three sites are compared at the end. The first to be analysed in the peri-urban category is Maphisa represented by the results in Table 5.4.2a below.

Table 5.4.2a: Maphisa metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group	Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25 Youth	Male	47	43	23	22	40	37	110	102
	Female	41	28	15	10	38	29	94	67
yrs 26-36 Young Adults	Male	57	49	18	15	41	34	116	98
	Female	40	26	18	9	37	16	95	51
yrs 37-65 Adults	Male	37	28	26	20	37	22	100	70
	Female	29	9	14	7	21	4	64	20
Total		251	183	114	83	214	142	579	408
Possible total		420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

Results for familiarity in the B series show that male young adults are the highest with 57/70 followed by male youth with 47/70. Female youth are ranked third, followed by female young adults, and then male adults and the last are female adults. In terms of the usage results for B metaphors, male youth are below young adult males but they have the smallest difference between familiarity and usage of 4, an indication that they use almost all the S'ncamtho that they know. While female adults know 29/70 of the metaphors in B they only use 8/70. Male adults have the highest familiarity in the C series metaphors displaying a familiarity of 26/30 and they are followed by male youth with 22/30. Male youth however, have a higher usage score of 21/30 compared to the 20/30 in male adults. In the D series, the familiarity is higher than all sections but the highest is recorded in male young adults with a 41/50 followed by male youth, female youth, young adult females, male adults and lastly female adults in that order. The usage in D is highest among male youth followed by young adult males. Usage is very low among female adults recording 4/50. Table 5.4.2b below gives familiarity and usage results for Lower Gwelo peri-urban area.

Table 5.4.2b: Lower Gwelo metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group	Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25 Youth	Male	45	39	13	10	39	38	97	87
	Female	40	30	14	14	32	20	86	64
yrs 26-36 Young Adults	Male	48	42	21	17	42	39	111	98
	Female	31	19	13	6	28	14	72	39
yrs 37-65 Adults	Male	27	24	18	15	26	21	71	60
	Female	18	5	10	6	25	9	53	20
Total		209	159	89	68	192	141	490	368
Possible total		420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

In the Lower Gwelo data, male young adults have the highest B familiarity ratings of 47/70 followed by male youth with 45/70. Female youth are third with 40/70 and female young adults higher than adult males, while female adults are the lowest with 18/70. The usage results for B are all lower than the familiarity results, but they follow the same trend. It is important to note that usage by male adults is above that of female young adults even though female young adults' familiarity is higher than that of male adults. In the C series metaphors, there is a new development in the Lower Gwelo results whereby female youth have familiarity and usage results that are higher than those of male youth. This could be because the C series metaphors are more established than other categories and male youth in Lower Gwelo use new ones. The highest familiarity and usage results in C are in the male young adults' age group, followed by male adults and then female youth at number three. The trend can only confirm that the metaphors in the C series are from older forms of S'ncamtho, and also the views of male location youths, that girls are now fluent in

S'ncamtho. Metaphors in the D series are the most familiar and widely used as compared to the first two series. The highest D score is in male young adults with 42/50, followed by male youth at 39/50. The lowest familiarity score is recorded among female adults at 25/50 and their usage is also the lowest at 9/50.

The last site in the peri-urban group is Solusi with familiarity and usage results presented in Table 5.4.2c below.

Table 5.4.2c: Solusi metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group				Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
					F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs	15-25	Youth	Male	48	42	25	17	41	38	114	97	
			Female	43	26	15	8	37	21	95	55	
yrs	26-36	Young Adults	Male	58	52	21	11	43	36	122	99	
			Female	37	24	19	9	37	18	93	51	
yrs	37-65	Adults	Male	46	30	27	16	37	27	110	73	
			Female	24	6	10	5	25	5	59	16	
Total				256	180	117	66	220	145	593	391	
Possible total				420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900	

Familiarity results for B indicate that male young adults know more metaphors at 58/70 followed by male youth at 49/70. Male adults are the third in B familiarity with 46/70 and this is above all female results. Usage results for B indicate that male young adults have the highest usage of 52/70, followed by male youth at 42/70. Male adults are the third highest users of B metaphors at 30/70, and this is above all female groups. Male adults have the highest familiarity results for C at 27/30 followed by male youth at 24/30. However, male youth have a higher usage result. Female adults are the least in all series, in both familiarity and usage, while female youth are below male adults in all series in both familiarity and usage. In the D category metaphors that prove to be more popular, male young adults have the highest mark of 43/50 followed by male youth at 40/50. While male young adults know more D metaphors, male youth use more, and the least in terms of familiarity and usage are female adults at 25/50 familiarity and 5/50 usage.

5.4.2.1 Summary and conclusions on peri-urban familiarity and usage

In all the three peri-urban sites, the highest B familiarity and usage are recorded among male young adults, followed by male youth. In the C metaphors, Maphisa adult males have the highest scores on both familiarity and usage, followed by Solusi male adults on familiarity. The adult groups are more familiar with

the C metaphors because they are innovations from established Ndebele metaphors. Solusi male young adults score the highest mark on D familiarity followed by Maphisa male young adults. Lower Gwelo totals are behind the other sites in the majority of marks; an indication that the use of Shona alongside Ndebele in the area compromises the spread of S'ncamtho. Generally, younger males have high B and D scores, followed by younger females, while adult males are seen to do well in their familiarity to the C metaphors. Female adults have the lowest familiarity and usage scores across the three sites. However, in Lower Gwelo, female youths have higher familiarity and usage scores for the C metaphors compared to their male counterparts.

All totals are lower than Pumula North totals, an indication that there is more familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in urban high density areas than in peri-urban centres. Hillside totals are generally lower than those from peri-urban areas except for Lower Gwelo, confirming that another language operating alongside Ndebele affects the spread and usage of S'ncamtho. In Hillside S'ncamtho is affected by English-based youth varieties and in Lower Gwelo by Shona-based varieties.

5.4.3 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from rural areas

Familiarity and usage tests were also conducted on rural groups in the sites of Inyathi, Brunapeg and Donsa. Interviews with male youth in the Bulawayo high density suburbs of Makokoba, Nkulumane and Pumula South indicate in the majority of the interviews that they have doubts that rural people understand S'ncamtho. Their views on female adults have been confirmed in the data from peri-urban areas. It is interesting to note that rural areas are familiar and use some of the S'ncamtho metaphors although at a lower level than its use in Pumula North. The first rural site to be presented on familiarity and usage results is Inyathi represented in Table 5.4.3a below.

Table 5.4.3a: Inyathi metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group	Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25 Youth	Male	46	40	25	21	40	32	111	93
	Female	37	23	16	9	27	18	80	50
yrs 26-36 Young Adults	Male	52	46	19	16	41	35	112	97
	Female	35	23	14	8	29	16	78	47
yrs 37-65 Adults	Male	21	16	16	11	25	23	62	50

	Female	26	6	14	6	18	4	58	16
Total		217	154	104	71	180	128	501	353
Possible total		420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

Results for B series metaphors show that the highest familiarity and usage scores are recorded among male young adults with 52/70 and 46/70 respectively. The second are male youth in both categories followed by female youth but their usage is slightly below that of female young adults. Inyathi adult females are familiar with more B metaphors compared to their male counterparts at 25/70 with the adult males at 21/70. However, in the usage results adult males have a higher score of 14/70 compared to the female adult usage score of 5/70. This could be because women who use S'ncamtho are seen as loose or lesbian as espoused by Rudwick, Nkomo and Shange (2006).

Male youth have the highest familiarity and usage results for C at 24/30 and 21/30 respectively, followed by male young adults at 19/30 and 16/30 respectively. The adult groups appear to be better in C familiarity although they are lower than all groups with female adults at 14/30 familiarity and 5/30 usage and their male counterparts at 16/30 in both familiarity and usage. Male young adults have the highest in familiarity and usage of D with 41/50 and 35/50 respectively followed by male youth with 40/50 and 32/50 respectively. Female young adults have a higher C familiarity than female youth and male adults but, their usage is lower than both groups. Female adults are the lowest in all the metaphor series scoring below 50% in familiarity and below 25% in usage. Table 5.4.3b provides familiarity and usage results for the second rural site situated in Brunapeg.

Table 5.4.3b: Brunapeg metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group		Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
			F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25	Youth	Male	43	36	18	15	46	42	107	93
		Female	26	16	13	8	25	20	64	44
yrs 26-36	Young Adults	Male	46	38	17	15	40	36	103	89
		Female	35	15	14	6	30	11	79	32
yrs 37-65	Adults	Male	36	12	25	15	33	16	94	43
		Female	16	4	11	2	19	3	46	9
Total			202	121	98	61	193	128	493	310
Possible total			420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

The Brunapeg results show that male groups have higher familiarity and usage results for all the classes of metaphor tested. The results for younger groups indicate a decline from the first rural site of Inyathi. The decline can be a result of the fact that the site is further from Bulawayo compared to Inyathi and the road network is bad. The language dynamics also play a part in lowering figures for Brunapeg, as it is a predominantly Kalanga area yet S'ncamtho is Ndebele based. The highest in B familiarity and usage are the young adult males with 46/70 and 38/70 respectively, followed by male youth on 43/70 and 36/70 respectively. The third in B familiarity are male adults with a 36/70 but, their usage score is even below the two younger female groups. Young adult females are fourth in B series familiarity at 35/70. Adult females are notably the lowest in B familiarity and usage at 16/70 and 4/70 respectively.

In the C category, male adults have the highest familiarity result of 25/30 followed by male youth at 18/30 and young adult males at 17/30. All three groups are tied at 14/30 in the usage results. Female young adults are highest among the female groups in the C category familiarity with 14/30 and the female youth have the higher score on C usage among female groups. Female adults are the lowest in both C familiarity and usage. Male youth are the highest in D familiarity and usage scoring 46/50 and 42/50 respectively. They are followed by young adult males at 40/50 and 36/50 respectively. Male adults score more than female youth on D familiarity but the female youth have a higher result on usage. The last rural site is Donsa whose results are represented in Table 5.4.3c below.

Table 5.4.3c: Donsa metaphor familiarity and usage results

Age group	Sex	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
yrs 15-25 Youth	Male	40	38	16	13	46	44	101	95
	Female	33	17	19	16	28	14	80	47
yrs 26-36 Young Adults	Male	40	29	19	16	44	39	102	84
	Female	29	10	17	6	29	12	75	28
yrs 37-65 Adults	Male	22	15	16	9	27	22	65	46
	Female	20	3	13	2	19	3	52	8
Total		184	112	100	62	193	134	475	308
Possible total		420	420	180	180	300	300	900	900

Familiarity for the B metaphors is lower in Donsa but the highest in the site is recorded from both male youth and male young adults at 40/70. The decline in the Donsa results can be attributed to the distance and connectivity from Bulawayo as it is the furthest site from Bulawayo and has a bad road network and no cell phone connectivity. The usage is high in male youth who score 39/70 compared to the 30/70 for the male

young adults. Female youth score 32/70 on the B metaphors ahead of young adult females and the adult groups. The difference between familiarity and usage in B is large, but adult females have the lowest B results for familiarity and usage at 20/70 and 4/70 respectively. Female youth and young adult males have the highest scores on familiarity and usage of C metaphors, with tied scores of 20/30 and 15/30 respectively. The rest of the groups score lower than 50% on C familiarity. Usage is even lower, female adults score 3/30 in the C usage. The D metaphors are the most familiar of the metaphors with male youth leading in familiarity and usage at 46/50 and 43/50 respectively followed by male young adults at 43/50 and 40/50 respectively. Young adult females and female youth are slightly above male adults but the usage score for male adults is above all female usage scores.

5.4.3.1 Summary and conclusions on familiarity and usage in rural sites

In the rural sites, male young adults score the highest B familiarity scores across the three areas and the highest usage is in Inyathi and Brunapeg. These two sites have good transport network from Bulawayo compared to Donsa. Brunapeg male adults have the highest familiarity score on the C metaphors followed by Inyathi male youth. The highest D familiarity score is recorded in the Brunapeg male youth group followed by Donsa male youth. The general trend is that younger male groups have high familiarity and usage scores, while younger females have relatively high familiarity scores but their usage scores are very low. Rural adult females across all three rural sites have very low familiarity scores and they have the lowest usage scores. The difference between Hillside, peri-urban sites and rural sites is not much in the younger groups, both male and female. This may suggest that improved communications and transport networks are reducing the differences between categories of 'rural', 'peri-urban' and 'urban' in terms of social practices. It perhaps further suggests that the categories themselves need to be reconsidered in social analyses. Pumula North totals, however, are higher than all other sites.

5.4.4 S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage data from professionals

The familiarity and usage tests were also conducted on professionals in urban Bulawayo and rural areas. The professionals chosen for the comparative tests are nurses, teachers and pastors, because these professions are found in all areas in the country: urban, peri-urban and rural areas. The tests were also conducted on broadcasters from the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)'s Montrose studios, who run television and radio broadcasts in Ndebele. Journalists from *Umthunywa* which is an Ndebele medium newspaper in Bulawayo were also used in the familiarity and usage tests. The media personalities are central

in the evaluation of S'ncamtho spread and usage because their programmes are aired in both urban and rural areas and *Umthunywa* is read in Bulawayo and outlying areas. Table 5.4.4a below gives the results of familiarity and usage tests on urban and rural professionals excluding broadcasters and journalists. All informants are above thirty seven years and in the adult category.

Table 5.4.4a: Familiarity and usage results from professional respondents

Profession		Nurses				Teachers				Pastors			Totals	
Location		urban		Rural		Urban		rural		Urban		rural		
Sex		M	FL	M	FL	M	FL	M	FL	M	FL	M	Total	Possible total
B	F	11	10	11	8	12	11	11	9	13	11	11	118	154
	U	10	9	11	8	11	7	9	6	11	7	9	98	154
C	F	6	5	6	5	6	4	6	4	6	5	6	59	66
	U	6	3	6	2	5	4	5	2	6	3	3	45	66
D	F	10	9	10	8	10	8	10	7	9	8	9	98	110
	U	10	7	10	7	9	8	10	5	9	5	7	87	110
Total	F	27	24	27	21	28	23	27	20	28	24	26	275	330
Total	U	26	19	27	17	25	19	24	13	26	15	19	230	330

All urban tests were conducted in Pumula North and the tests for teachers were conducted in the rural area of Brunapeg. Nurses' tests were in Inyathi, and a pastor in the Donsa rural area was tested. The male urban nurse has a slightly higher familiarity in all sections compared to the female nurse, with an overall difference in familiarity of 4 points. On the overall usage, the urban male nurse indicates that he uses 26/30 and the female nurse 19/30. Such high scores are only seen elsewhere among male youth and young adults. Rural nurses in Inyathi are not very different from their urban counterparts. The male rural nurse has an equal familiarity score to the urban male nurse of 27/30, missing only three scores. The female rural nurse is below her urban counterpart on familiarity by three points with 21/30 and below by two points on usage with 17/30. The rural male nurse has a higher usage score of 27/30 compared to the urban male nurse's 26/30.

Urban teachers also have high scores on the overall familiarity, with the male urban teacher scoring a familiarity of 28/30 and a usage score of 25/30. Female urban teachers get a familiarity score of 23/30 and a usage score of 19/30. Rural teachers are not far from their urban counterparts with the male rural teacher in Brunapeg having familiarity and usage scores of 27/30 and 24/30 respectively and the rural female teacher scoring 20/30 and 13/30 respectively. The familiarity and usage ratings for the rural female teacher are the

lowest recorded in the professional respondents. Results from pastors' tests indicate that both male and female urban pastors are familiar with many of the metaphors and use a number of them in their churches and day to day discourse. The urban male pastor's familiarity and usage scores are 28/30 and 26/30 respectively while the female pastor scores 24/30 and 15/30 respectively. The rural male pastor in Donsa scores 26/30 and 19/30 respectively. Table 5.4.4b below displays familiarity and usage scores from media professionals in Bulawayo.

Table 5.4.4b: Familiarity and usage results from media practitioners

Profession		ZBC Broadcasters						Umthunywa Journalists						
Sex		Male				Female		Male		Female			Totals	
Age		28	32	40	51	33	37	24	32	31	32	41	Total	Possible total
B	F	13	14	13	13	12	10	14	14	10	12	8	133	154
	U	12	13	11	9	8	6	14	12	6	6	5	102	154
C	F	6	6	6	6	5	6	5	6	4	5	6	61	66
	U	5	6	6	3	4	4	5	6	4	4	3	50	66
D	F	10	10	9	8	10	9	10	10	9	8	8	101	110
	U	10	10	7	7	7	7	10	9	8	5	6	86	110
Total	F	29	30	28	27	27	25	29	30	23	25	22	295	330
Total	U	27	29	24	19	19	17	29	27	18	15	14	238	330

Among the ZBC broadcasters, four males and two females filled out the test. Of the four males, the highest score on familiarity comes from a thirty two year old male broadcaster with a 30/30 score followed by a twenty eight year old male with 29/30. The forty and fifty one year old male broadcasters score 28/30 and 27/30 on familiarity respectively, and their usage scores are the lowest at 24/30 and 19/30 respectively. Usage scores among the younger male broadcasters are as high as 29/30. The female broadcasters do not do badly in the familiarity and usage tests either. The two ladies of thirty three and thirty seven years score a familiarity of 27/30 and 25/30 respectively and a usage score of 19/30 and 17/30 respectively.

The tests were also run on five *Umthunywa* journalists: two males and three females. With the two male journalists of ages twenty four and thirty two years, the familiarity and usage scores are very high at 29/30 and 29/30 and 30/30 and 27/30 respectively. In the female journalist category, the figures go down as compared to broadcasters and male journalists. The youngest female journalist is thirty one years and the oldest forty one. The oldest has the lowest scores on familiarity and usage of 22/30 and 14/30 respectively. The highest familiarity among the three is 25/30 and highest usage is 18/30.

5.4.5 Summary and conclusions on familiarity and usage in professionals

In all professions, male respondents have higher familiarity than females and they have an even higher usage score. However, all the respondents across sex and locations score higher than adult groups from the key respondents. Professions are administered from urban areas, and professionals read newspapers, follow the electronic media and have social media communicating devices. The urban to rural distance in professionals is further reduced because they frequent Bulawayo for their salaries and business, exposing them to more S'ncamtho than key rural respondents. There is little difference between urban and rural professionals as far as S'ncamtho metaphor, familiarity and usage is concerned. Broadcasters exhibit high familiarity and usage scores on S'ncamtho metaphors as they broadcast to youth and some of them run interactive youth programmes. Male journalists have very high scores on both familiarity and usage - this could be because they are still in the youth and young adult categories and interact with S'ncamtho speakers in Bulawayo outside their jobs. The *Umthunywa* editorial policy prohibits the use of S'ncamtho and this can be contributing to the lower scores among the female journalists. ZBC broadcasters, who air youth programmes such as *Ezabatsha*, 'Youth issues', violate company policy by using S'ncamtho. However, they cannot handle youth programmes outside S'ncamtho and the broadcaster conveniently ignores the use of S'ncamtho on these programmes.

5.5 Comparative analysis of the regional and demographic spread of S'ncamtho metaphors

Familiarity and usage results from urban, peri-urban and rural areas show that there are differences that cut across certain variables. This section seeks to compare these across locations. Bulawayo high density areas here represented by Pumula North in the data have the highest scores on average in both familiarity and usage. However, the scores are not uniform across. This section analyses and discusses the results comparing sites, gender and age.

5.5.1 Regional spread of S'ncamtho metaphors

While male youth in Pumula South, Makokoba and Nkulumane suggest that they know more S'ncamtho than older and female groups, it appears young adult males know more than the male youth in the majority of sites. Male youth does well in the B series metaphors, yet in the C series metaphors, adult males do better

than younger males in some sites. S'ncamtho is perceived as predominantly an urban male youth variety and the comparison starts by comparing male youth performance across the eight sites in table 5.5.1a below.

Table 5.5.1a: Combined male youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors across all eight sites

Site	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
	F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	68	61	29	25	50	50	147	136
Hillside	47	28	15	7	30	23	92	58
Maphisa	47	43	23	22	40	37	110	102
Lower Gwelo	45	39	13	10	39	38	97	87
Solusi	48	42	25	17	41	38	114	97
Inyathi	46	40	25	21	40	32	111	93
Brunapeg	43	36	18	15	46	42	107	93
Donsa	39	38	16	13	46	44	101	95
Total	383	327	164	130	332	304	879	761
Possible total	560	560	240	240	400	400	1200	1200

On the B series metaphors, Pumula North male youth have a superior familiarity and usage compared to other male youth in other sites. In interviews on their views on the familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho in Bulawayo's high density areas, male youth in the suburbs of Nkulumane, Makokoba and Pumula South indicate that all male youth know S'ncamtho but there are a few who choose not to speak it. The B test results confirm the views expressed at the interviews. Pumula North male youth have familiarity and usage scores of 68/70 and 62/70 respectively. They are followed by Solusi youth on familiarity with 49/70 and Maphisa youth on usage with 43/70. Suffice to note that both Solusi and Maphisa are peri-urban areas. The lowest B score on familiarity is recorded in the Donsa rural area with a familiarity of 39/70. However, the Donsa usage result is higher than that of urban low density youth in Hillside at 38/70 and the Hillside youth have a usage score of 28/70.

Results for the C series metaphors show that Pumula North youth have the highest familiarity and usage scores of 30/30 and 25/30 respectively. This is followed by youth from Inyathi rural area with 24/30 on familiarity. The second highest score on usage is recorded among the Maphisa peri-urban youth with a 22/30 score. Lower Gwelo peri-urban area has the lowest C familiarity score of 12/30 and Hillside low density urban area youth have the lowest usage score of 6/30. All rural sites record more than 50% familiarity in the C metaphors, higher than Hillside and Lower Gwelo. The D series metaphors are the most popular and it is interesting to note that Pumula North youth score 100% on both familiarity and usage. Most interestingly,

they are followed by Donsa rural area in familiarity and usage with 45/50 and 44/50 respectively. Another rural group, Brunapeg is third with familiarity and usage of 45/50 and 42/50 respectively.

It is clear that urban high density male youth know and use more S'ncamtho than all other male youth groups. However, the rate and degree of spread within and outside the city does not follow a consistent and clear pattern among male youth, as Hillside male youth have the same familiarity and at times lower than rural areas. It can be deduced from the results that Hillside male youth know more S'ncamtho than they use. This could be because they use an English based urban variety. The spread of S'ncamtho metaphors to areas outside Bulawayo is confirmed by results from the familiarity and usage tests which show that peri-urban areas near Bulawayo have results that are similar and at times lower than those from rural areas that are further from Bulawayo.

A sample of male youth results from Pumula North, Solusi and Donsa confirms that there is more S'ncamtho familiarity and usage in urban locations, yet peri-urban areas represented by Solusi and rural results represented by Donsa are not very different. The results of both familiarity and usage in the sampled sites show that Pumula North male youth score much higher than youth in the peri-urban and rural areas. The peri-urban and rural sites do not have a clear trend in the familiarity and usage of metaphors in B, C and D. The high scores in the Bulawayo high density male youth might indicate that the areas are the sources of S'ncamtho and that it spreads from these areas. Solusi is a peri-urban area, fifty three kilometres outside Bulawayo on a narrow tarred road and many cars ply this route. It has electricity and good cell phone and radio coverage. On the other hand, Donsa is a rural area 220 kilometres away from Bulawayo on a bad road, with no electricity, no television coverage and poor cell phone network coverage. However, there are buses that ply the route. While Solusi is above Donsa in B and C familiarity and usage scores, Donsa is above Solusi in both D familiarity and usage scores. There is evidence that human traffic from rural areas to Bulawayo is as high as that from peri-urban areas and some S'ncamtho metaphors are popular in closer areas and some in areas furthest from Bulawayo. The data challenges the perception of rural areas being disconnected from urban practices. There is a need to reconsider assumed distinctions between rural and urban areas in terms of social practices amongst mobile youth. Table 5.5.1b below compares the scores for female youth across urban, peri-urban and rural sampled sites.

Table 5.5.1b: Comparison of female youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Inyathi.

Site	Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Female youth	64	40	20	15	44	33	128	88
Hillside	Female youth	35	22	14	8	28	21	77	51
Lower Gwelo	Female youth	40	30	14	14	32	20	86	64
Inyathi	Female youth	37	23	16	9	27	18	80	50

A comparison of female youth scores on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors indicate that the figures go down from urban high density female youth to rural ones. The difference in B metaphors' familiarity between Lower Gwelo and Inyathi representing peri-urban and rural areas respectively, at 40/70 and 37/70 respectively is small, and they are both below the Pumula North score of 64/70. The B usage scores also indicate a difference between urban female youth and female youth from outside the city, be it peri-urban or rural. Inyathi rural area has more C familiarity as compared to Lower Gwelo peri-urban area. The results from the D metaphors also follow the same trend, with Pumula North female youth having high scores in both familiarity and usage as compared to outlying areas.

Peri-urban areas have slightly higher scores compared to rural areas, but the indication is that peri-urban and rural scores are almost similar. Hillside scores indicate that female youth in the area have low familiarity and usage, and is predominantly lower than peri-urban and rural sites. Male young adults also have high scores in the study. Table 5.5.1c below provides a comparison of male young adult scores across sites.

Table 5.5.1c: Comparison of male young adults' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Solusi and Donsa.

Site	Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Young adult males	67	56	24	19	48	40	139	115
Hillside	Young adult males	58	33	17	11	42	33	117	77
Solusi	Young adult males	58	52	21	11	43	36	122	99
Donsa	Young adult males	39	29	19	16	44	39	102	84

In the male young adult group, Pumula North young adults lead in familiarity and usage of all the three sets of metaphors. In the B metaphors familiarity they are followed by peri-urban, then Hillside and lastly rural males. In the B usage, they follow the same order. In C familiarity, Hillside scores the lowest while on C

usage Solusi has the lowest and the rural area Donsa's scores are the second from Pumula North. Donsa rural area is second to Pumula North in D familiarity and usage. Hillside is the least in both. Young adult females have scores below their male counterparts in the majority of comparisons, but Pumula North young adult females have a stiff competition from peri-urban sites as shown in Table 5.5.1d below.

Table 5.5.1d: Comparison of female young adult's familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Maphisa and Brunapeg.

Site	Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Young adult females	60	15	14	8	46	26	120	49
Hillside	Young adult females	43	12	10	8	34	19	87	39
Maphisa	Young adult females	40	26	18	9	37	16	95	51
Brunapeg	Young adult females	35	15	14	6	30	11	79	32

In B metaphor familiarity, Pumula North young adult females have a superior mark of 60/70 followed by Hillside at 43/70. The peri-urban group has 40/70 and the rural group 35/70. In the B metaphor usage, the Pumula North group plunged to second tied with the rural group at 15/70 and the highest score is recorded in Maphisa peri-urban site with 26/70. In the C metaphors, the Pumula North group is second to the peri-urban group in both familiarity and usage. Hillside is higher than the rural group in C usage. In the D metaphors, the Pumula North group has the highest scores in both familiarity and usage. On familiarity, they are followed by peri-urban and Hillside is number three, while in D usage Hillside is number two. The adult groups score the lowest marks but male adults have higher scores, especially in the C metaphors as given in Table 5.5.1e below.

Table 5.5.1e: Comparison of adult males' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Brunapeg.

Site	Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Adult males	45	36	26	22	37	30	108	88
Hillside	Adult males	42	29	27	15	34	23	103	67
Lower Gwelo	Adult males	27	24	18	15	26	21	71	60
Brunapeg	Adult males	36	12	25	15	33	16	94	43

Adult males from Pumula North have the highest scores across all the metaphor groups except in C familiarity where the Hillside group has the highest score. In B familiarity, only the Lower Gwelo group has

a score below 50%, second to the rural score. The Hillside score is not far from the Pumula North score. In B usage, rural adults are the lowest and Hillside comes second while on C familiarity the Hillside low density group has the highest score followed by the location group. In the C usage, Hillside is number two. In the D metaphors, Hillside comes second in both familiarity and usage and the rural group comes third in familiarity and fourth in usage.

The high scores from the Hillside group amongst adults can be explained by the fact that most of the men in the low density areas grew up in the high density areas and with education and good jobs they bought houses in the low density areas. The poor performance of the Lower Gwelo peri-urban area could be due to the influence of Shona. Female adults generally have the lowest totals as compared across sites in Table 5.5.1f below.

Table 5.5.1f: Comparison of adult females' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, Lower Gwelo and Brunapeg.

Site	Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Adult females	41	14	17	10	31	11	89	35
Hillside	Adult females	32	13	14	11	31	25	77	49
Lower Gwelo	Adult females	18	5	10	6	25	9	53	20
Brunapeg	Adult females	16	4	11	2	19	3	46	9

In B familiarity and usage and C familiarity Pumula North has the highest scores followed by Hillside. In C usage, D familiarity and usage, the Hillside group has the highest scores followed by Pumula North. In all but C familiarity, Lower Gwelo peri-urban is number three and in C familiarity, Brunapeg rural area is third ahead of the peri-urban site.

5.5.1.1 Summary and conclusions on the regional spread of S'ncamtho metaphors

Data analysis shows that urban totals on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors are high in low income high density suburbs compared to the high income low density areas such as Hillside. The majority of blacks in Bulawayo's high density suburbs are Ndebele mother tongue speakers and they do not use English outside school and work. S'ncamtho is an Ndebele-based urban youth variety and is popular in suburbs where Ndebele is used. Blacks who now live in the low density areas of Bulawayo tend to use

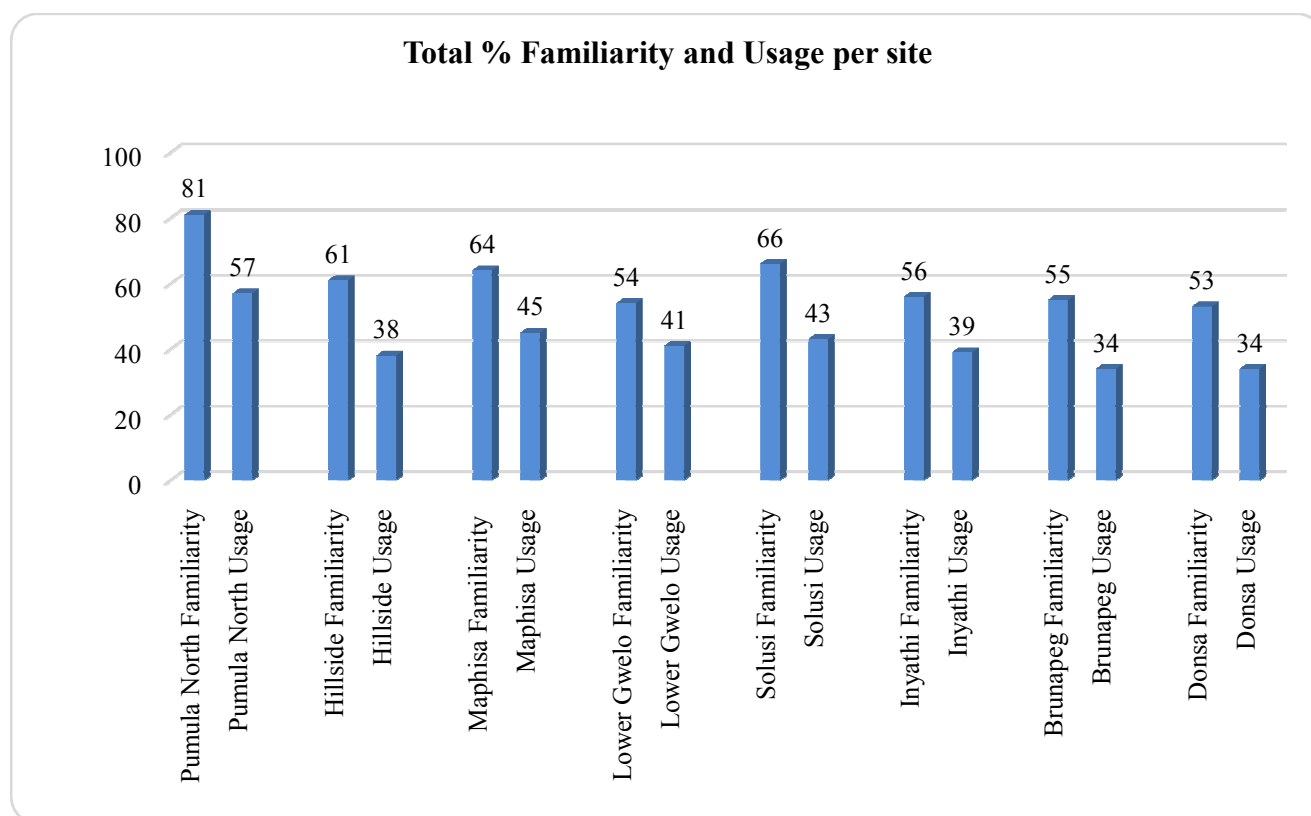
English alongside Ndebele and most of their children learn in ‘A’ schools that use English as a first language. They use English to converse even at home and this affects their mastery of S'ncamtho. Male youth and young adults generally have the highest scores on both familiarity and usage per site. Pumula North has the highest combined familiarity score followed by Solusi which is followed by Maphisa, both peri-urban sites. At fourth position is Hillside urban site and the lowest is Donsa rural area. On usage, Pumula North is highest followed by the peri-urban sites of Maphisa and Solusi. Donsa again is the lowest on usage. The trend is that there is more familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Bulawayo's locations followed by peri-urban areas, urban low density areas and lastly rural areas. Table 5.5.1.1a below compares total and average familiarity and usage across the regions.

Table 5.5.1.1a: Total and average totals on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors in Pumula North, Hillside, peri-urban and rural areas.

Site	Combined total familiarity out of 900	Combined total usage out of 900
Pumula North	731	511
Hillside	553	341
Peri-urban average	554	389
Rural average	490	324

Distance from Bulawayo affects the spread of S'ncamtho as peri-urban areas closer to Bulawayo have higher scores than further rural areas. Figure 5.5.1 below shows the combined totals for familiarity and usage per site.

Figure 5.5.1: Combined percentage familiarity and usage per site.



Pumula North has the highest percentage scores for both familiarity and usage, followed by Solusi on familiarity and by Maphisa on usage. The results confirm that S'ncamtho spreads from high density suburbs through peri-urban areas to rural areas. Rural areas generally have lower percentages although they are not very far from peri-urban ones particularly among young male youth. This may suggest a generational narrowing of the distinction between peri-urban and rural.

5.5.2 Gender dynamics in familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

The spread of S'ncamtho metaphors also depends on gender, as male groups score higher than their female counterparts in almost all sites. The highest scores are recorded in Pumula North and this section commences by comparing scores by gender across the site. Table 5.5.2a below compares Pumula North males to their female counterparts.

Table 5.5.2a: Comparison of Pumula North male and female familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

Site	Sex and Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Male youth	68	61	29	25	50	50	147	136
Pumula North	Female youth	64	40	20	15	44	33	128	88
Pumula North	Male adults	45	36	26	22	37	30	108	88
Pumula North	Female adults	41	14	17	10	31	11	89	35

Male youth in the high density areas of Bulawayo score the highest in terms of familiarity and usage. The male youth interact with female youth in the high density suburbs and the female youth score high in familiarity- all their usage scores were above 50%. However, male youth in Pumula North score higher than their female counterparts in all areas indicating a gendered dimension to the spread and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. While male youth score 68/70 in B familiarity, females score 64/70 indicating that females are exposed to S'ncamtho and they know it. The biggest difference between the groups is in the usage of B metaphors whereby male youth score 61/70 and females 40/70, a difference of 21/70. The C familiarity and usage scores for female youth are all below their male counterparts and the same obtains for the D metaphors. In both C and D metaphors, the familiarity scores for female youth are high and closer to the male youth scores, yet their usage scores are lower than the familiarity scores and they use less metaphors compared to male youth in Pumula North. Pumula North female youth appear to be able to compete with and sometimes beat male youth from other sites as indicated in Table 5.5.2b below.

Table 5.5.2b: Comparison of Pumula North female youth and Hillside, Solusi and Inyathi male youth familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.

Site	Sex and Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	Female youth	64	40	20	15	44	33	128	88
Hillside	Male youth	47	28	15	7	30	23	92	58
Solusi	Male youth	48	42	25	17	41	38	114	97
Inyathi	Male youth	46	40	25	21	40	32	111	93

Pumula North female youth score higher than all the male groups in B familiarity in the comparison. Inyathi rural male youth have the lowest B familiarity. In the B usage, the females are lower than Solusi and Inyathi males but still higher than Hillside males. On C familiarity, they are third to Inyathi and Solusi but higher than Hillside. In the C usage, they are above Inyathi and Hillside. The location females have the highest D familiarity followed by peri-urban, rural and Hillside males respectively. In D usage, they are second only to

Solusi peri-urban males. Males generally have higher scores in both familiarity and usage in peri-urban and rural areas and this is represented in Table 5.5.2c below.

Table 5.5.2c: Comparison of familiarity and usage by gender in peri-urban and rural sites of Lower Gwelo, Maphisa, Donsa and Brunapeg.

Site	Male	Combined -F	Combined -U	Female	Combined -F	Combined- U
Lower Gwelo	Youth	97	87	Youth	86	64
	Adults	71	60	Adults	53	20
Maphisa	Young adults	116	98	Young adults	95	51
	Adults	100	70	Adults	64	20
Donsa	Youth	101	95	Youth	80	47
	Young adults	102	84	Young adults	75	28
Brunapeg	Youth	107	93	Youth	64	44
	Adults	94	43	Adults	46	9
Total		788	630		563	283
Possible total		1200	1200		1200	1200

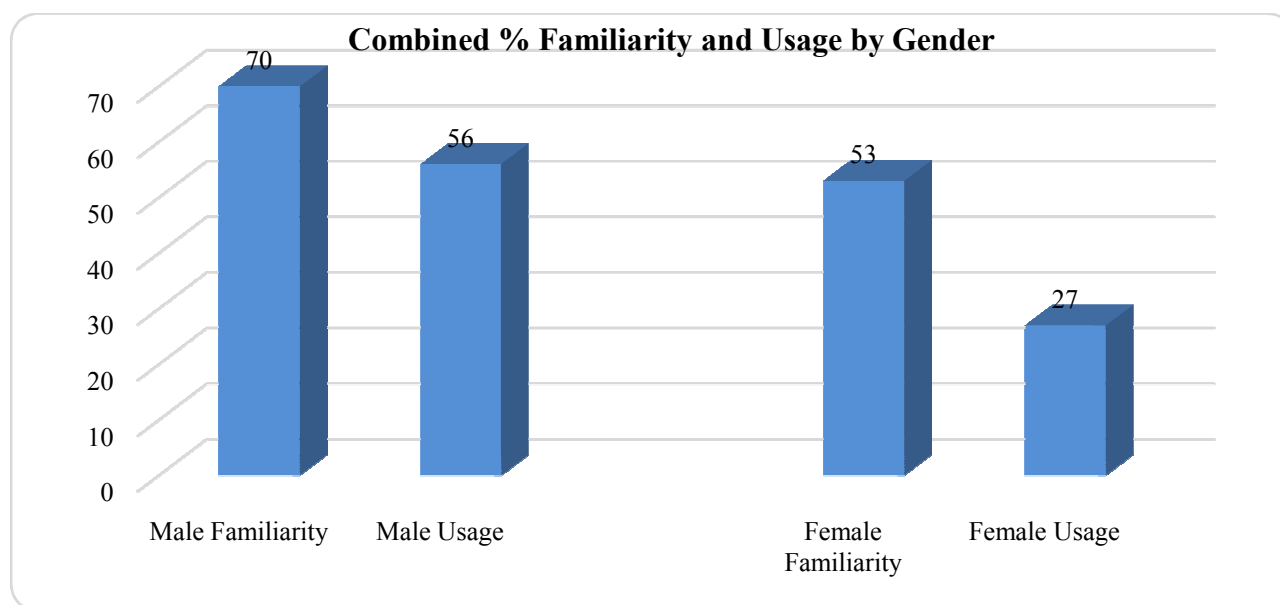
Male groups in the sampled areas have higher familiarity and usage than their female counterparts. Rural areas are lower than peri-urban areas in both familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. However, when comparing young adult males in Donsa rural area and young adult females in Maphisa peri-urban area Donsa young adult males still have higher familiarity and usage scores.

5.5.2.1 Summary and conclusions on gender dynamics in familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors

Males are more familiar with and use more S'ncamtho metaphors than females in the same age cohort and location. It is only in Lower Gwelo youths where the female totals for the C series metaphors are higher than the male totals. Young urban females in the high density areas are familiar with more S'ncamtho metaphors than male youth from low density areas, peri-urban and rural areas. However, when it comes to usage of the metaphors, location female youth are below peri-urban and rural male youth. They however, remain above low density male youth in usage. Adult females have the lowest totals by site and rural adult females have the lowest overall familiarity and usage.

Females across all sites and age groups have lower usage scores possibly because of the stigma of loose morals and lesbianism associated with females who speak S'ncamtho and other factors that limit female participation in S'ncamtho. S'ncamtho is a sociolect used to perform male street corner identities and women may participate less in such male dominated performances because of social norms and safety concerns. Active participation in street identity performance is one of the drivers for S'ncamtho use and the fact that women are not active in the street corner identity formation suggests they have less reason to use S'ncamtho even if they know it. Combined totals for familiarity and usage by gender indicate that males have superior scores as shown in Figure 5.5.2.1 below, which combines data from all the eight sites and divides it into male and female scores.

Figure 5.5.2.1: Combined percentage totals on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by gender



After combining data from all the eight sites and dividing it between males and females it emerges that males have higher scores in both familiarity and usage. Male percentage totals for familiarity and usage are both above 50%, while in the female scores only familiarity is slightly above 50%, with usage only at 27%. Males know and use more S'ncamtho than females and females use far less S'ncamtho than they are familiar with.

5.5.3 The age factor in S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage

S'ncamtho is a youth variety and it is important in this study to evaluate the familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by both the young and the old, to determine the spread of the variety to older groups. Younger males and females have higher scores compared to their adult counterparts. This is generally an indication that age is a factor in S'ncamtho familiarity and usage among Ndebele speakers in urban, peri-urban and rural areas. Table 5.5.3a below confirms the higher youth scores compared to adult scores.

Table 5.5.3a: Combined metaphor familiarity and usage results between youth and adults in Pumula North, Hillside, Solusi and Brunapeg

Site	Male	Combined familiarity	Combined usage	Female	Combined familiarity	Combined usage
Pumula North	Youth	147	136	Youth	128	88
	Adults	108	88	Adults	89	35
Hillside	Youth	92	58	Youth	77	51
	Adults	103	67	Adults	77	49
Soluti	Youth	114	97	Youth	95	55
	Adults	110	73	Adults	59	16
Brunapeg	Youth	107	93	Youth	64	44
	Adults	94	43	Adults	46	9
Total	Youth	460	384	Youth	364	238
Total	Adults	415	271	Adults	271	109
Possible total		600	600		600	600

Both male and female youth have higher scores on familiarity and usage in all the sampled areas, except in Hillside where adult males have higher familiarity and usage than male youth. Adults who moved to low density areas such as Hillside after independence in 1980 have location experience, they grew up with S'ncamtho and continue to learn more as they use Ndebele. However, the majority of youth in the low density areas never lived in the locations and now interact mostly in English, which limits their familiarity with S'ncamtho. The adult female totals are generally low as compared to younger females and the lowest scores are recorded on rural female adults. Table 5.5.3b below compares rural female youth scores to rural adult female scores.

Table 5.5.3b: Comparison of rural female youth and adults' familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.

Site	Sex and Age group	B-/70		C-/30		D-/50		Total	Total
		F	U	F	U	F	U	F	U
Donsa	Female youth	33	17	19	16	28	14	80	47
Donsa	Female adults	20	3	13	2	19	3	52	8
Inyathi	Female adults	26	6	14	6	18	4	58	16
Brunapeg	Female adults	16	4	11	2	19	3	46	9

Female youth from Donsa rural area which is the furthest and remotest from Bulawayo, are compared to female adults across other rural areas and the results show that Donsa female youth score above adult females from other rural sites. Inyathi rural female adults have better scores compared to other female adult groups. These scores confirm the proximity of Inyathi to Bulawayo, and that the gold panning and mines close to the rural area could be symbols of urbanity that operate close to the rural area. In the comparisons, young adult males have higher scores than those from male youth and the lowest are from female adults. Male adults do well in the C metaphors and the younger groups do well in B and D metaphors. Rural results are mostly higher than Hillside results, especially in the usage scores in younger respondents. Adult groups in Hillside low density area do well compared to adults in peri-urban and rural sites.

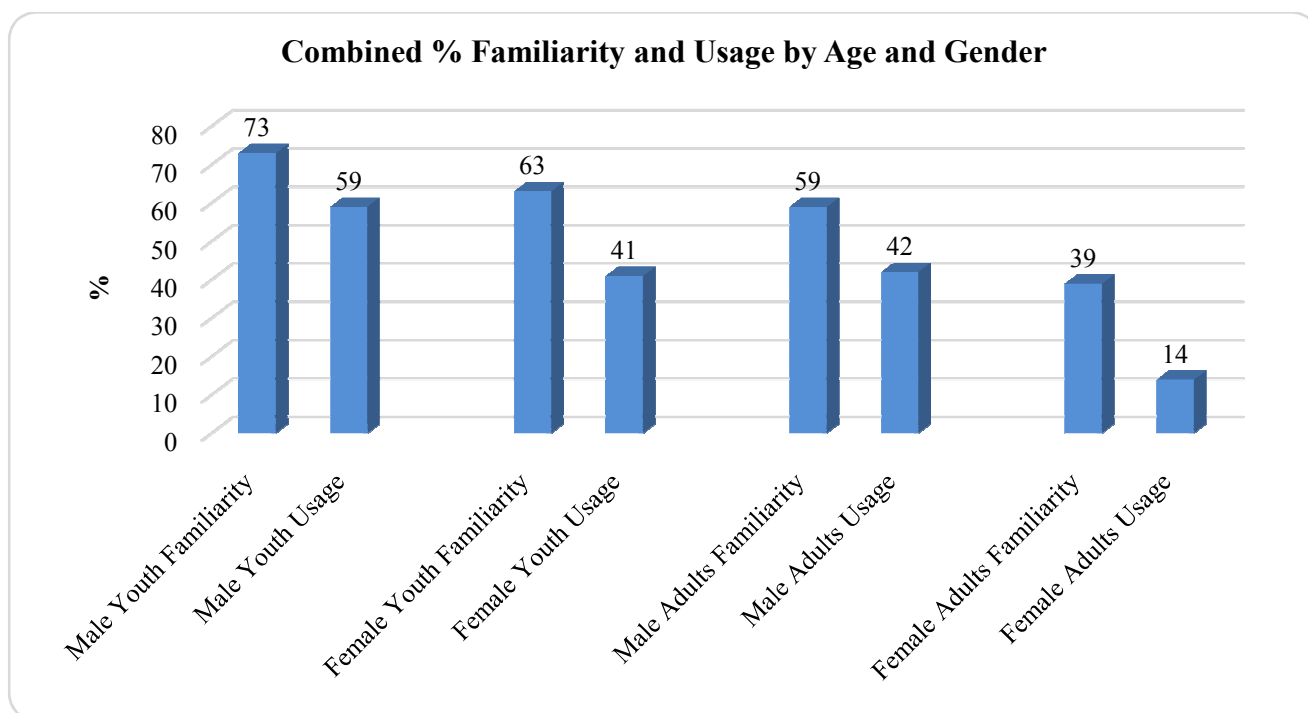
5.5.3.1 Summary and conclusions on the age factor in S'ncamtho metaphor familiarity and usage

The results confirm that age is a factor in S'ncamtho familiarity and usage. Older people have lower familiarity and an even lower usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. Male youth indicate that respect is a factor that limits their use of S'ncamtho with adults and this is the reason why adults do not get all S'ncamtho metaphors from the youth. The popular themes in youth varieties are discussed among the youth and seldom with adult people and parents, hence adults are not exposed to trending S'ncamtho in the popular themes of sex, love and relationships, music and work. Hillside youth align themselves with English youth varieties although their parents use Ndebele. Many of the parents grew up in the locations making them better receptors of S'ncamtho than their children, hence the higher adult scores than youth scores in Hillside.

Male youth in all sites have a combined B, C and D metaphor familiarity of 73% compared to the male adult percentage total of 59%. Their usage percentages are 63% and 41% for the youth and adults respectively. The scores are lower for females, but female youth have higher scores compared to adult females. Familiarity percentages are 59% and 42% respectively and usage score are 39% and 14% respectively.

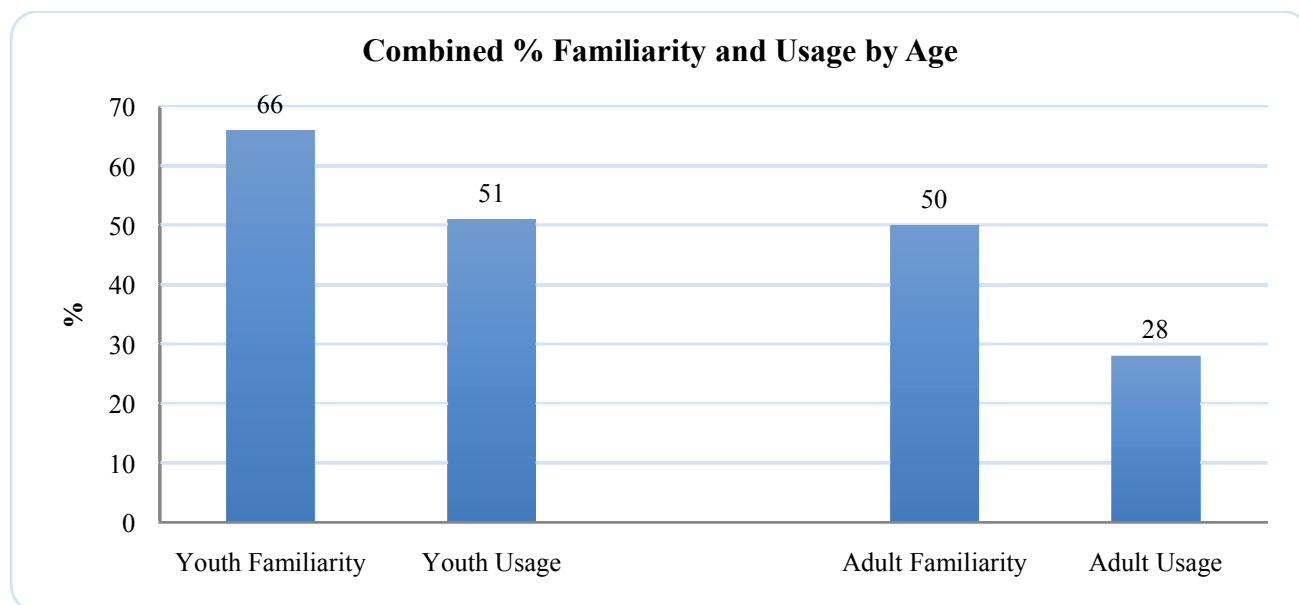
Figures 5.5.3.1a and 5.5.3.1b below compare the combined total percentage familiarity and usage between youth and adults.

Figure 5.5.3.1a: Combined total percentages for youth and adult familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by gender.



Male youth have higher scores than male adults and female youth have higher scores than adult females confirming that age is a factor in S'ncamtho familiarity and usage. Both young males and females have higher familiarity than both adult groups. Figure 5.5.3.1b below combines all youth and adult scores to give a global picture of age dynamics in S'ncamtho familiarity and usage.

Figure 5.5.3.1b: Combined total percentages for youth and adult familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors.



Combined male and female youth scores are higher than combined male and female adult scores. Young people are familiar and use more S'ncamtho than their adult counterparts. Older people find it difficult to be heard speaking S'ncamtho as they can be stigmatised as childish or criminals.

5.6 Popularity of individual S'ncamtho metaphors

While familiarity and usage scores are calculated using grouped metaphors under the subsections of B, C and D, it is important to review the familiarity of individual metaphors. Popularity of individual metaphors is important for language research and documentation as linguists and language users need to know which metaphors are more popular and widely used, so they can be considered for incorporation into Ndebele, as many Ndebele users use them. This section measures the popularity of individual metaphors, using tables and figures to show the familiarity and usage of individual metaphors across different sites. The tables give the total out of five respondents per group on the familiarity and usage of an individual metaphor, the B metaphors have their own tables and the C and D metaphors are combined. Table 5.6a below shows familiarity of individual B metaphors in Bulawayo urban sites of Pumula North and Hillside.

Table 5.6a: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in Bulawayo urban each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grp	sex	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14
Pumula North	Y	M	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
		F	5	5	0	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5
	Y/A	M	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
		F	5	5	1	5	5	5	5	3	4	5	5	3	5	4
	AD	M	5	3	0	5	5	5	3	2	2	3	5	2	5	2
		F	3	2	0	4	4	3	2	1	4	4	5	4	4	1
Total			28	25	7	29	29	28	25	21	24	27	30	23	29	22
Hillside	Y	M	4	4	1	3	3	5	2	2	2	4	5	4	4	4
		F	2	2	0	2	2	3	2	3	3	4	5	2	4	1
	Y/A	M	5	4	1	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	4
		F	3	3	0	2	2	3	3	3	4	4	5	2	4	4
	AD	M	3	2	0	3	4	3	4	3	2	4	5	3	3	4
		F	1	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	3	4	5	2	3	3
Total			18	17	2	16	17	21	17	17	18	24	30	17	23	20
Grand Total			46	42	9	45	46	49	42	38	42	51	60	40	52	42

Pumula North male youth and young adult males score 5/5 in almost all B metaphors, both scoring a 3/5 in B3-*imanyuwa*. Young adult males score 4/5 on B9-*amajusikhadi*. The metaphor in B3-*imanyuwa* has very low familiarity scores in Pumula North- a total of 7/30- across all groups. The other thirteen metaphors have high familiarity in the township samples with the second lowest being B8-*ukulahla* at 21/30 overall familiarity across all groups. It is important to note that seven metaphors score an overall familiarity of between 27 and 30 in Pumula North samples-27/30 for B10-*ukunokha*, 28/30 for B1-*ukutshaya inyawo*, and B6-*isidi*, 29/30 for B4-*ukukhetsha*, B5-*ukuhotsha*, B13-*i-eyitini* and 30/30 for B11-*ihata*. These metaphors are mostly taboo avoidance strategies.

The Hillside results indicate that familiarity for individual metaphors in B is lower than Pumula North. They score an overall 2/30 on B3-*imanyuwa*, with a leap to 16/30 for the second lowest, B4-*ukukhetsha*. The majority of the metaphors range between scores of 17/30 and 24/30. However, B11-*ihata* got an overall familiarity of 30/30 in Hillside as well. The overall for the two urban locations show a dilution of Pumula North high scores by relatively lower Hillside scores. However, the figures for twelve metaphors remain above 40/60 with B10-*ukunokha* scoring 51/60, B13-*i-eyitini* scoring 52/60 and B11-*ihata* scoring 60/60. Table 5.6b below compares the familiarity of individual B metaphors in peri-urban sites.

Table 5.6b: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in peri-urban areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age	grp	sex	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14
Maphisa	Y		M	5	4	1	3	3	5	2	3	2	5	5	2	4	3
			F	5	4	0	4	4	3	2	2	2	4	5	1	3	2
	Y/A		M	5	4	1	4	4	5	3	4	3	5	5	4	5	5
			F	4	4	0	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	5	2	4	3
	AD		M	4	2	0	4	3	1	1	3	4	2	5	2	3	3
			F	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	5	2	3	1
Total				25	19	3	20	17	19	13	16	16	21	30	13	22	17
Lower Gwelo	Y		M	5	5	0	2	3	4	2	3	3	4	5	2	3	4
			F	4	5	0	3	5	2	2	2	3	3	5	2	2	2
	Y/A		M	5	5	3	4	3	5	2	3	2	4	5	2	2	4
			F	3	4	0	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	5	1	1	2
	AD		M	2	2	1	1	2	3	0	3	2	2	5	2	1	1
			F	1	1	0	2	2	1	2	0	1	1	5	1	1	0
Total				20	22	4	14	17	17	9	14	13	17	30	10	10	13
Solusi	Y		M	5	5	1	3	4	4	3	2	4	3	5	3	3	3
			F	4	5	0	4	3	2	4	2	2	1	5	1	3	2
	Y/A		M	5	5	2	5	4	5	4	4	3	4	5	4	5	3
			F	4	3	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	2	5	2	4	1
	AD		M	5	4	1	5	3	2	2	2	3	3	5	4	4	3
			F	2	1	0	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	5	1	3	0
Total				25	23	5	22	17	18	18	14	15	15	30	15	22	12
Grand Total				70	64	12	56	51	54	40	44	44	53	90	38	54	42

In all the three peri-urban locations, there is only one metaphor that scores 100% familiarity of 30/30 - B11-*ihata*. Metaphor B3-*imanyuwa* which has very low totals in the urban results also has the lowest across the three peri-urban sites, in Maphisa it has 3/30, Lower Gwelo 4/30 and Solusi 5/30. Maphisa and Solusi both have three metaphors each that are below the 50% familiarity of 15/30 including B3. Maphisa has below 50% totals in B7 *irobhothi elibomvu*-13/30 and B12 *ukuklara*- 13/30 while for Solusi it is B8 *ukulahla*-14/30 and B14 *umzukulu*-12/30. Lower Gwelo has the highest number of metaphors below 50%, eight including B3 and these are-B7-9/30, B4 *ukukhetsha*-12 10/30, B13 *ieyitini*-10/30, B9 *amajusikhadi*-13/30, B14-13/30, B4-14/30 and B8-14/30. Metaphors that have an overall score of above 50% at 45/90 in the combined familiarity scores of the three sites are eight, and in descending order are; B11- 90/90, B1 *ukutshayainyawo*-70/90, B2 *i-ake*-64/90, B4-56/90, B6 *isidi*-54/90, B13-54/90, B10 *ukunokha*-53/90 and B5 *ukuhotsha*-51/90. The peri-urban combined totals have eight metaphors above the 50% familiarity mark compared to thirteen in the urban combined familiarity scores. Table 5.6c below compares familiarity ratings for B metaphors in rural areas.

Table 5.6c: Familiarity of individual B series metaphors in rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grp	sex	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14
Inyathi	Y	M	5	3	1	3	3	4	3	3	2	3	5	3	4	4
		F	3	4	0	1	3	2	3	2	4	3	5	1	3	3
	YA	M	5	3	2	5	4	4	2	3	3	5	5	2	5	4
		F	2	4	0	4	3	2	2	3	2	2	5	1	3	2
	AD	M	2	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	2	1
		F	2	3	0	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	5	1	1	2
Total			19	18	3	16	17	14	13	15	14	15	30	9	18	16
Brunapeg	Y	M	4	3	1	3	2	4	3	2	3	2	5	2	5	4
		F	3	3	0	3	3	1	2	1	1	1	5	0	2	1
	YA	M	5	4	2	4	3	4	3	2	3	4	5	2	3	2
		F	3	5	0	4	3	2	3	1	2	2	5	0	3	2
	AD	M	2	3	2	3	2	3	1	1	2	3	5	2	4	3
		F	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	2	1
Total			18	20	5	18	15	14	12	7	12	13	30	6	19	13
Donsa	Y	M	4	3	1	3	4	3	1	1	2	3	5	1	5	3
		F	3	5	0	4	4	2	2	0	1	1	5	1	3	2
	YA	M	4	3	2	3	2	3	1	2	1	4	5	2	4	3
		F	3	3	0	2	3	1	2	0	2	1	5	0	4	3
	AD	M	2	1	1	2	1	0	0	2	0	2	5	1	3	2
		F	0	0	0	2	3	1	2	0	2	1	5	0	2	2
Total			16	15	4	16	17	10	8	5	8	12	30	5	21	15
Grand Total			53	53	12	50	49	38	33	27	34	40	90	20	58	44

In all the three rural sites, there is only one metaphor that has 100% familiarity of 30/30, B11-*ihata*. Metaphor B3-*imanyuwa* which has very low totals in both urban and peri-urban results also has the lowest across the three rural sites. In Inyathi, it has 3/30, Brunapeg 5/30 and Donsa 4/30. Inyathi has five metaphors below the 50% familiarity mark of 15/30 including B3, and these are; B6 *isidi*-14/30, B7 *irobhothi elibomvu*-13/30, B9 *amajusikhadi*-14/30 and B12 *ukuklara*-9/30. Donsa has seven B metaphors below the 50% familiarity mark including B3 and these are; B6-10/30, B7-8/30, B8 *ukulahla*-5/30, B9-8/30, B10 *ukunokha*-12/30 and B12-5/30. Brunapeg has the highest number of eight metaphors below 50% familiarity these are; B6-14/30, B7-12/30, B8-7/30, B9-12/30, B10-13/30, B12-6/30 and B14 *umzukulu*-13/30.

There are six metaphors that have an overall score of above 50%, which is 45/90 in the combined familiarity scores of the three rural sites. These in descending order are; B11- 90/90, B13 *ieyitini*-58/90, B1 *ukutshaya inyawo*-53/90, B2 *i-ake*-53/90, B4 *ukukhetsha*-50/90 and B5 *ukuhotsha*-49/90. The rural combined totals that are above the 50% familiarity mark of 45/90 in the B metaphors are the lowest at six, compared to the urban thirteen and peri-urban eight. However, the rural areas of Inyathi and Donsa both have higher

familiarity ratings of individual B metaphors, than Lower Gwelo peri-urban centre. Table 5.6d below shows the results of the usage of individual B series metaphors across urban, peri-urban and rural sites.

Table 5.6d: Usage of individual B series metaphors in urban, peri-urban and rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grp	Sex	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	B6	B7	B8	B9	B10	B11	B12	B13	B14
Pumula North	Y	M	5	5	2	2	5	5	3	5	4	5	5	5	5	5
		F	4	5	0	3	2	1	5	2	4	5	5	0	3	1
	Y/A	M	5	4	3	5	3	5	2	5	2	5	5	3	5	4
		F	1	2	0	1	1	0	2	0	1	2	3	0	2	0
	AD	M	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	3	1	4	3	2	4	1
		F	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	2	3	2	1	1	0
Total			18	19	9	15	14	14	15	15	14	24	23	11	20	11
Lower Gwelo	Y	M	4	3	1	1	3	4	2	2	1	5	5	1	4	3
		F	2	4	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	3	5	0	3	2
	Y/A	M	5	4	2	2	2	4	1	2	2	5	5	1	5	2
		F	1	3	2	2	2	0	1	0	1	2	3	0	2	0
	AD	M	2	1	2	3	2	3	0	0	2	4	2	0	2	1
		F	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Total			14	15	7	9	10	14	8	7	7	21	21	2	16	8
Brunapeg	Y	M	4	3	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	5	5	0	3	2
		F	1	2	0	1	1	2	2	0	1	1	3	0	1	1
	Y/A	M	5	2	2	2	2	4	0	2	1	5	5	2	3	3
		F	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	2	0	1	0
	AD	M	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	2	0	1	1
		F	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Total			12	9	5	9	6	11	4	4	6	19	18	2	9	7
Grand Total			44	43	21	33	30	39	27	26	27	64	62	15	45	26

A sample of sites in the usage of B series metaphors indicates that the usage of individual metaphors is lower than familiarity. The comparison is conducted using Pumula North, Lower Gwelo and Brunapeg usage scores for individual B metaphors representing urban high density, peri-urban and rural areas respectively. Metaphor B11-*ihata* has 100% familiarity in all sites but in the usage scores it does not get the highest score it instead comes second to B10-*ukunokha*. These two are the only metaphors that have a usage score above 50% which is 15/30 in all the three sites.

Pumula North has eight metaphors with a usage score above the 50% usage mark and they are; B1 *ukutshaya inyawo*-18/30, B2 *i-ake*-19/30, B4 *ukukhetsha*-15/30, B7 *irobhothi elibomvu*-15/30, B8 *ukulahla*-15/30, B10-24/30, B11-23/30 and B13 *ieyitini*-20/30. Lower Gwelo peri-urban area has only three B metaphors above the 50% usage mark and these are; B10-21/30, B11-21/30 and B13-16/30. Brunapeg rural area only has two B metaphors above the 50% usage mark and these are; B10-19/30 and B11-18/30. The

overall total usage across the three sites has only three metaphors above the 50% usage mark of 45/90 and these are; B10-64/90, B11-62/90 and B13-45/90. However, B1-*ukutshaya inyawo* and B2- *i-ake* have overall totals close to 45/90 as they score 44/90 and 43/90 respectively. The overall totals are heavily affected by total usage from female respondents, especially adult females who have very low usage totals across all sites. Table 5.6e below shows a combined familiarity rating of both C and D metaphors in the urban sites of Pumula North and Hillside.

Table 5.6e: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in Bulawayo urban- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grp	sex	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10
Pumula North	Y	M	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
		F	4	3	3	3	2	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	4	3	5	4
	YA	M	5	3	2	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5
		F	3	2	2	1	1	5	5	3	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	5
	AD	M	5	4	4	3	5	5	5	4	3	3	5	2	4	3	4	4
		F	3	2	2	2	3	5	5	4	2	2	5	2	3	1	3	3
Total			25	19	18	17	21	30	30	23	25	25	30	23	25	21	27	26
Hillside	Y	M	2	2	2	2	3	4	5	0	4	5	5	3	2	1	3	2
		F	1	2	2	1	3	5	5	1	5	4	5	2	1	2	1	2
	YA	M	2	3	3	2	2	5	5	3	4	5	5	4	3	3	4	5
		F	3	2	0	0	1	4	5	3	3	5	5	4	2	1	2	2
	AD	M	5	3	4	5	5	5	5	4	2	4	5	3	3	0	2	3
		F	3	2	2	2	2	3	5	4	1	3	5	3	2	1	2	2
Total			16	14	13	12	16	26	30	15	19	26	30	19	13	8	14	16
Grnd Total			41	33	31	29	37	56	60	38	44	51	60	42	38	29	41	42

Familiarity of individual C and D metaphors in Bulawayo urban sites also indicates that there is more familiarity in Pumula North than in Hillside. Metaphors D1-*ukuzifonela* and D5-*ziyakhapha* score 100% overall familiarity in the two areas while C6-*ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka* scores 100% familiarity in Pumula North and 26/30 in Hillside. All the sixteen combined C and D metaphors score above 50% familiarity in Pumula North, and of the sixteen, thirteen are 20/30 and above and nine are 25/30 and above. In the Hillside results, three out of six metaphors in C are above 50% familiarity and in the D metaphors seven out of ten are above 50% familiarity. The overall total indicates that there are fourteen out of sixteen metaphors with a familiarity score of 50% and above. The highest scores are recorded in the following metaphors; D1-60/60, D5-60/60, C6-56/60, D4 *ukungen'amanzi*-51/60, D3 *ukugeleza*-44/60. Table 5.6f below shows individual C and D metaphors' popularity scores in the three peri-urban areas.

Table 5.6f: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in peri-urban areas- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grd	sex	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10
Maphisa	Y	M	4	3	4	4	3	5	5	2	5	5	5	3	3	3	5	4
		F	3	2	3	2	1	4	5	1	2	4	5	4	3	3	5	4
	YA	M	5	3	4	1	1	4	5	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	4	4
		F	3	4	3	2	2	4	5	3	3	4	5	3	2	4	3	3
	AD	M	4	5	3	3	4	5	5	5	1	4	5	2	2	2	4	4
		F	3	2	1	2	1	5	5	4	0	2	5	1	0	0	1	1
Total			22	19	18	15	12	27	30	19	15	23	30	16	14	16	22	20
Lower Gwelo	Y	M	3	2	0	2	1	5	5	1	4	5	5	4	4	3	5	3
		F	4	3	1	1	1	4	5	0	3	5	5	3	1	2	2	0
	YA	M	4	4	2	3	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	3	3	4	4
		F	3	2	2	0	1	5	5	2	2	3	5	2	2	0	3	3
	AD	M	4	4	2	2	1	5	5	5	1	3	5	1	2	1	1	2
		F	2	2	1	1	0	4	5	3	0	2	5	0	1	2	3	2
Total			20	17	8	9	7	28	30	15	14	23	30	14	13	11	18	14
Solusi	Y	M	4	4	4	4	4	5	5	2	4	5	5	4	4	5	4	3
		F	2	3	2	1	2	5	5	2	4	4	5	3	3	3	4	4
	YA	M	4	4	3	3	2	5	5	4	5	5	5	3	4	3	5	4
		F	3	2	3	3	3	5	5	3	3	4	5	2	4	3	4	3
	AD	M	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	4	2	4	5	3	4	0	5	4
		F	3	2	1	0	0	4	5	3	1	3	5	0	2	0	4	2
Total			21	20	17	15	15	29	30	18	19	25	30	15	21	14	26	20
Grand Total			63	56	43	39	34	84	90	52	48	71	90	45	48	41	66	54

There are two metaphors out of the sixteen in the table that score 100% familiarity of 90/90 across all the three peri-urban sites and these are D1-*ukuzifonela* and D5-*ziyakhapha*. The lowest overall score is recorded on metaphor C5-*ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa* with 34/90. Maphisa records a familiarity rating of 50%, 15/30 and above in fourteen out of the sixteen metaphors while Lower Gwelo has eight out of sixteen with 50% and above. Solusi has the highest familiarity of fifteen out of sixteen metaphors with 50% and above. The overall totals indicate that there are twelve out of sixteen metaphors with a familiarity rating of 50% (45/90) and above and these are; D1-90/90, D5-90/90, C6 *ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka*-84/90, D4 *ukungen'amanzi*-71/90 and C1 *ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning* -63/90. The scores are lower than the urban scores, but they indicate that there is high familiarity of individual C and D metaphors in peri-urban areas except in Lower Gwelo. Lower Gwelo has the lowest totals, far below Solusi and Maphisa with Solusi having the best overall scores. Table 5.6g below shows individual C and D metaphors' popularity scores in the three rural areas.

Table 5.6g: Familiarity of individual C and D series metaphors in rural areas each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grp	sex	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10
Inyathi	Y	M	5	5	3	4	3	5	5	2	3	5	5	3	3	3	5	4
		F	4	3	3	0	2	4	5	0	3	2	5	3	3	1	2	3
	YA	M	4	4	2	2	2	5	5	3	3	5	5	4	4	2	5	4
		F	3	3	1	0	2	5	5	2	2	4	5	2	2	0	3	3
	AD	M	4	3	2	1	1	5	5	3	1	2	5	0	3	0	3	2
		F	4	2	3	0	1	4	5	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	3	1
Total			24	20	14	7	11	28	30	12	12	20	30	12	15	6	21	17
Brunapeg	Y	M	3	4	4	2	2	3	5	2	3	5	5	5	5	4	5	5
		F	4	3	3	0	0	3	5	0	3	3	5	0	3	1	3	2
	YA	M	4	3	3	1	1	5	5	3	3	4	5	2	4	3	5	5
		F	2	4	1	2	0	5	5	2	1	5	5	1	3	0	4	2
	AD	M	5	5	4	3	3	5	5	5	0	4	5	3	3	0	5	5
		F	3	3	1	0	0	4	5	2	0	2	5	0	0	0	2	1
Total			21	22	16	8	6	25	30	14	10	23	30	11	18	8	24	20
Donsa	Y	M	4	4	3	1	1	3	5	3	3	5	5	4	4	5	5	5
		F	5	4	3	1	2	4	5	0	3	5	5	1	3	1	3	2
	YA	M	4	4	5	2	1	3	5	3	2	5	5	4	5	3	5	4
		F	3	4	3	0	2	5	5	3	1	5	5	1	2	0	2	3
	AD	M	4	4	2	1	0	5	5	1	0	5	5	0	1	0	4	3
		F	3	2	3	0	0	5	5	0	0	4	5	0	1	0	2	0
Total			23	22	19	5	6	25	30	10	9	29	30	10	16	9	21	17
G/Total			68	64	49	20	23	78	90	36	31	72	90	33	49	23	66	54

Two metaphors out of the sixteen in the table score 100% familiarity of 90/90 across all the three rural sites. These are D1-*ukuzifonela* and D5-*ziyakhapha*. The lowest overall score is recorded on metaphor C4-*ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela* with 20/90. Inyathi records a familiarity rating of 50%,15/30 and above in nine out of the sixteen metaphors, while Brunapeg and Donsa have ten out of sixteen with 50% and above individual familiarity scores. The overall totals indicate that there are ten out of sixteen metaphors with a familiarity rating of 50%,45/90 and above and these are; D1-90/90, D5-90/90, C6 *ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka*-78/90, D4 *ukungen'amanzi*-72/90, C1 *ukwanda kwaliwa yifamilyplanning*-68/90, D9 *ukuyilahla*-66/90 and C2 *amapatapata awela abangelamazwane*-64/90. The overall totals in the rural areas are higher than those recorded in peri-urban areas, although peri-urban scores have more metaphors scoring 50% and above. Table 5.6h below gives individual C and D metaphors' usage scores in three sites representing urban high density, peri-urban and rural areas.

Table 5.6h: Usage of individual C and D series metaphors in urban, peri-urban and rural areas- each metaphor is out of a possible total of 30 per site

Site	Age grn	sex	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9	D10
Pumula North	Y	M	3	4	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
		F	2	3	3	1	1	5	5	0	4	5	5	2	2	2	5	2
	YA	M	5	4	2	1	2	5	5	2	5	5	5	3	5	2	5	3
		F	2	1	1	0	0	4	4	1	2	5	4	0	2	0	4	2
	AD	M	5	4	2	3	3	5	5	4	0	4	3	0	3	0	5	3
		F	3	2	1	0	0	4	3	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	2	1
Total			20	18	14	10	9	28	27	12	16	26	24	10	18	9	26	16
Maphisa	Y	M	4	4	4	2	3	4	5	1	3	5	5	2	4	3	4	4
		F	2	2	1	0	0	5	5	0	2	5	5	0	3	1	4	3
	YA	M	3	2	2	1	2	5	5	2	3	5	5	2	3	1	5	3
		F	2	2	1	0	0	4	3	0	1	4	3	0	1	0	2	1
	AD	M	4	4	3	2	2	5	4	2	0	3	2	0	1	0	4	3
		F	1	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total			16	16	11	5	7	27	23	5	9	24	20	4	12	5	20	14
Donsa	Y	M	3	3	1	1	1	4	5	2	3	5	5	3	5	4	5	5
		F	4	4	2	1	1	4	2	0	2	3	4	0	0	0	2	1
	Y/ A	M	3	4	2	1	1	5	5	2	2	5	5	0	4	4	5	4
		F	2	1	0	0	0	3	3	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	0
	AD	M	2	2	0	0	1	4	3	3	0	4	2	0	0	0	4	3
		F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
Total			15	15	5	3	4	20	18	7	8	21	19	3	9	8	19	13
Grand Total			51	49	30	18	20	75	68	24	33	71	63	17	39	22	65	43

Three sites are used as samples for individual C and D metaphor usage and these are Pumula North, Maphisa and Donsa representing urban location, peri-urban and rural areas respectively. Usage scores for individual C and D metaphors are lower than familiarity scores across all areas. Pumula North records three out of six C metaphors with a 50%,15/30 and above usage score and seven out of ten D metaphors with a 50%,15/30 and above score. The highest usage scores in Pumula North are recorded in metaphors; C6 *ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka*-28/30, D1 *ukuzifonela*-27/30, D4 *ukungen'amanzi*-26/30 and D9-*ukuyilahla* also at 26/30. Maphisa also records three out of the six C metaphors with a 50%, 15/30 and above usage score and a lower score for the D metaphors with a 50%, 15/30 and above score in four out of ten. The highest usage scores in Maphisa are recorded in metaphors; C6-27/30, D4-24/30 and D1-23/30. Donsa has the same overall totals as Maphisa in the C and D metaphors with 50% and above usage scores of three out of six and four out of ten respectively. The highest usage scores in Donsa are recorded in metaphors; D4-21/30, C6-20/30, D5-*ziyakhapha* and D9 both at 19/30.

The overall usage figures indicate that individual metaphors with a usage of 50%, 45/90 and above are seven out of sixteen and the highest scores are recorded on the following metaphors; C6-75/90, D4-71/90, D1-

68/90, D9-65/90 and D5-63/90. The lowest individual metaphor usage scores are recorded on the following metaphors; D6 *nja yami*-17/90, C4 *ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela*-18/90, C5 *ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa*-20/90 and D8 *ukufaka ilayini*-22/90.

5.6.1 Summary and conclusions on popularity of category and individual S'ncamtho metaphors

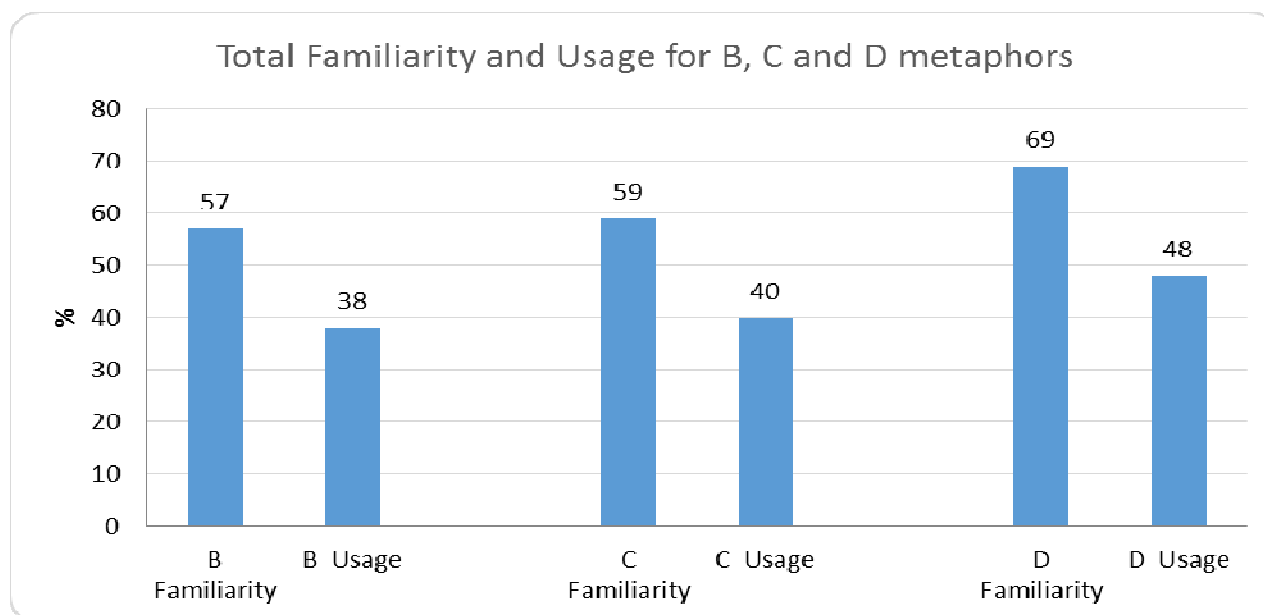
The D category metaphors have the highest scores in terms of familiarity and usage followed by C and B respectively. Aphorisms in the D category are derived from friendship, love affairs, partying and music themes and these are popular in S'ncamtho. Their popularity is seen in the high familiarity and usage scores. S'ncamtho euphemisms are popular with young respondents, while older respondents lower the overall popularity of euphemisms. Table 5.6.1a below gives a summary of B, C and D category metaphors' total and average familiarity and usage in the four different locations.

Table 5.6.1a: Total and average familiarity of B, C and D metaphors per location.

Site	Combined B/420		Combined C/180		Combined D/300	
	F	U	F	U	F	U
Pumula North	345- 82%	222- 53%	130- 72%	99- 55%	256- 85%	190- 63%
Hillside	257- 61%	137- 33%	97- 54%	60- 33%	199- 66%	144- 48%
Peri-urban average	239- 57%	174- 41%	107- 59%	72- 40%	209- 70%	143-48%
Rural average	200- 48%	129- 31%	101- 56%	65- 36%	189- 63%	130- 43%

Male youth and young adults have higher familiarity and usage scores in the three categories across sites except in the C category where adult males have the highest scores in Brunapeg, Solusi, Maphisa and Hillside. The C category metaphors are older creations and adult males grew up with these, which is why they do better than the youth groups. While in Lower Gwelo, female youth score higher than male youth in the C metaphors, females have lower familiarity generally and even lower usage with the lowest figures recorded among adult females. The global totals for familiarity and usage per category of metaphors confirms that D metaphors are more popular, followed by C and B respectively. These are represented in Figure 5.6.1 below.

Figure 5.6.1: Global familiarity and usage totals for category B, C and D metaphors.



In each category of metaphors, there are individual metaphors that have exceptionally high scores and some that have very low scores. Characteristics of individual metaphors contribute to their familiarity and usage. There are 56 instances whereby individual metaphors score between 80% and 100% familiarity across all sites and 74 instances whereby individual metaphors have familiarity scores of less than 50%. Table 5.6.1b below contrasts familiarity scores of above 80% and those below 50%. Representations in bold are metaphors that score 100% familiarity and the underlined ones represent metaphors that score less than 33% familiarity which is less than 10/30.

Table 5.6.1b: Individual metaphors that score 80-100% familiarity and those that have less than 50% familiarity scores

Site	Metaphors with 80-100% familiarity	Metaphors with less than 50% familiarity
Pumula North	B1,B2,B4,B5,B6,B7,B9,B10, B11 ,B13,C1,C6, D1 ,D3,D4, D5 ,D7,D9,D10 [19]	<u>B3</u> [1]
Hillside	B10, B11 ,C6, D1 ,D4, D5 [6]	<u>B3</u> ,C2,C3,C4,D7, <u>D8</u> ,D9 [7]
Maphisa	B1, B11 ,C6, D1 , D5 [5]	<u>B3</u> ,B7,B12,C5,D7 [5]
Lower Gwelo	B11 ,C6, D1 , D5 [4]	<u>B3</u> ,B4, <u>B7</u> ,B8,B8,B12,B13,B14, <u>C3</u> , <u>C4</u> , <u>C5</u> ,D3,D6,D7,D8,D9,D10 [17]
Solusi	B1, B11 ,C6, D1 ,D4, D5 ,D9 [7]	<u>B3</u> ,B8,B14,D8 [4]
Inyathi	B11 ,C1,C6, D1 , D5 [5]	<u>B3</u> ,B6,B7,B9, <u>B12</u> ,C3, <u>C4</u> ,C7,C5,D2,D3,D6, <u>D8</u> [13]
Brunapeg	B11 ,C6, D1 , D5 ,D9 [5]	<u>B3</u> ,B6,B7, <u>B8</u> ,B9,B10, <u>B12</u> ,B14, <u>C4</u> , <u>C5</u> ,D2,D3,D6, <u>D8</u> [14]
Donsa	B11 ,C6, D1 ,D4, D5 [5]	<u>B3</u> ,B6, <u>B7</u> , <u>B8</u> ,B9,B10, <u>B12</u> , <u>C4</u> , <u>C5</u> ,D2, <u>D3</u> ,D6, <u>D8</u> [13]

Total	56	74
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Pumula North has the highest number of four metaphors scoring 100% on familiarity and these are B11- *ihata*, C6- *Ukubarafu njengombeda wamaplanka*, D1- *ukuzifonela* and D5- *ziyakhipha*. The other seven sites have an equal number of three metaphors with 100% familiarity; B11- *ihata*, D1- *ukuzifonela* and D5- *ziyakhipha*. B3- *imanyuwa* scores less than 33% familiarity across all sites, followed by C4- *ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela* and D8- *ukufaka ilayini* which score less than 33% familiarity each in four sites. C5- *ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa* has a familiarity score of less than 33% in three sites. The four most popular metaphors include B11- *ihata*, an argot for police and this is common talk in the transport industry as operators get arrested occasionally and people who use public transport are exposed to this metaphor. C6- *ukubarafu njengombeda wamaplanka*, is an old creation that is popular with older groups too owing to its high familiarity score. *Ukuzifonela* is as common as the telephone and cell-phone while *ziyakhipha* has become part of Ndebele greeting genres. *Imanyuwa* on the other hand is associated with homosexuality which is illegal in Zimbabwe and tabooed, hence people avoid talking about it and this affects its familiarity. C4-*ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela* and C5- *ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njengesepa*, are older creations and most of the youth do not know them.

Usage scores are different from familiarity scores. This means a metaphor can be familiar but not easy to use, especially taking into consideration issues such as taboo, euphemisms and social stigmas, more so when it comes to females. The highest usage scores are recorded in Pumula North, but none of the metaphors scores 100% on usage. The highest is C6-*ukubarafu njengombeda wamaplanka* with 93% usage in Pumula North, followed by D1 with 90%. In the three sampled areas of Pumula North, Maphisa and Donsa for usage of C and D metaphors, only seven out of sixteen score 50% and above. The highest usage scores are recorded on C6-83%, D4- 79%, D1- 76%, D9-72%, B10- 71%. B3 has the lowest usage score and generally euphemistic metaphors have lower usage scores. Younger respondents have higher usage scores than their older counterparts and females used less S'ncamtho metaphors than males.

5.7 Conclusion

Male youth in Bulawayo's high density suburbs of Makokoba, Nkulumane and Pumula South made predictions and permutations on the spread and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. In their permutations they indicated that male youth in the high density suburbs were all familiar with S'ncamtho. Results of questionnaire tests on Pumula North male youth, indicate that high density male youth are familiar with

most S'ncamtho metaphors, especially those that originate from the Johannesburg youth variety. The usage results in Pumula North male youth confirm the assumption from interviews that there are some male youth in the locations who choose not to use S'ncamtho but are familiar with it. The D metaphors have the highest familiarity in the majority of age groups especially young adults and youths of both sexes and they prove to be the most popular of the three metaphor categories. Hillside totals indicate low familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors although they are in Bulawayo urban, and in some cases they have totals that are lower than rural scores. Hillside is an elite suburb where there is high usage of English and the youth predominantly use an English-based youth variety.

Questionnaire test results across all the eight sites indicate that there is indeed spread of S'ncamtho metaphors from Bulawayo's high density areas to areas outside the city. Rural and peri-urban young adults who are in the economically active age group exhibit more familiarity than youth, a phenomenon that can be explained by the fact that young adults travel in and out of Bulawayo more often than the youth who are not yet economically liberated to travel frequently. Professionals across the sites do not exhibit much difference compared to non-professional respondents. This can be related to access to information and frequency of travel to Bulawayo. While this chapter deals with figures and opinions on the familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors the chapter that follows addresses population attitudes towards the use of S'ncamtho and also evaluates the use of S'ncamtho in different contexts and domains.

Chapter 6 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS S'NCAMTHO AND ITS IMPACT ON NDEBELE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter considers the attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and S'ncamtho in general. It also considers the impact S'ncamtho has had on the Ndebele language through observing the use of S'ncamtho in Zimbabwe. Data for the chapter is predominantly qualitative data to assess Ndebele population attitudes towards S'ncamtho and to analyse the extent of S'ncamtho usage in society.

De Klerk (1995: 275) argues that whatever the attitudes towards slang, it deserves serious attention from linguists. Some people are against the use of S'ncamtho because they say it corrupts the Ndebele language. However, Sebba (1997:4) scoffs at the idea of a pure language when he avers that ‘almost as obstinate and damaging an idea is the notion that languages can be, and should be, “pure”.’ While the debate on whether urban youth languages are; languages, anti-languages or mere slang rages on in sociolinguistic research, what cannot be ignored is the fact that these varieties are impacting standard and vernacular forms of languages be it positively or negatively. S'ncamtho has had elements that have stayed long enough in the Ndebele language to warrant recognition and Ndebele speakers are affected by language change in and from S'ncamtho. Population attitudes towards S'ncamtho do not stop Ndebele speakers from being impacted by S'ncamtho.

6.1 Chapter data

Data for this chapter is predominantly qualitative data from questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussions and observations. The data includes quantitative analysis of Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants. All key and professional respondents to questionnaires were asked to give their opinion on the impact of S'ncamtho on Ndebele, specifically whether S'ncamtho corrupts or enriches Ndebele. Professional respondents were further asked to give those metaphors that operated in their professions. Data for the chapter also comes from interviews conducted with professionals across sites and focus group discussions. Observations were also conducted on the media, internet, linguistic landscape, hospitals, schools, churches and the Ndebele dictionary to determine the extent of the use of S'ncamtho.

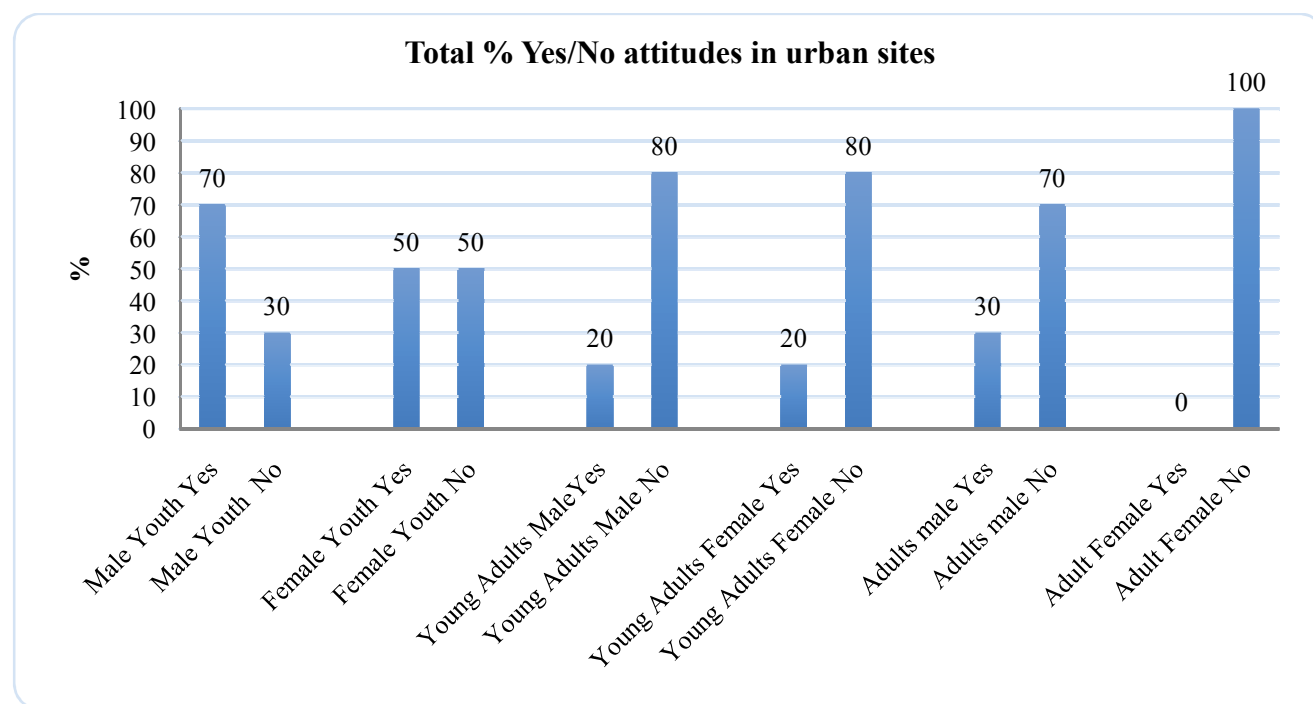
6.2 Questionnaire data on attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and S'ncamtho the variety.

The majority of key informants give negative responses towards the use of S'ncamtho as it is a “*tsotsi*” variety like other urban youth varieties, and associating these youth varieties with criminals may justify their banishment. All respondents to questionnaires were asked to indicate yes/no to whether S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele positively or negatively and give reasons for their assessment. All key respondents indicate their views on the impact of S'ncamtho on Ndebele but few give reasons for their answers. The questionnaires that key respondents filled had a slot where they were to indicate yes or no to the acceptance and use of S'ncamtho as part of Ndebele. The responses are either, YES or NO, to S'ncamtho. The female groups across sites have the highest number of negative responses to S'ncamtho acceptance and young males have the highest S'ncamtho acceptance. All sites in the same region are combined in data presentation and the analysis is conducted site by site for the eight sites that filled questionnaires.

6.2.1 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in urban sites

In the combined urban sites, male youth have the highest acceptance scores followed by female youth. The combined urban yes and no scores are represented in Figure 6.2a below, which gives the percentages of respondents who are for and those who are against S'ncamtho acceptance.

Figure 6.2a: Urban Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance



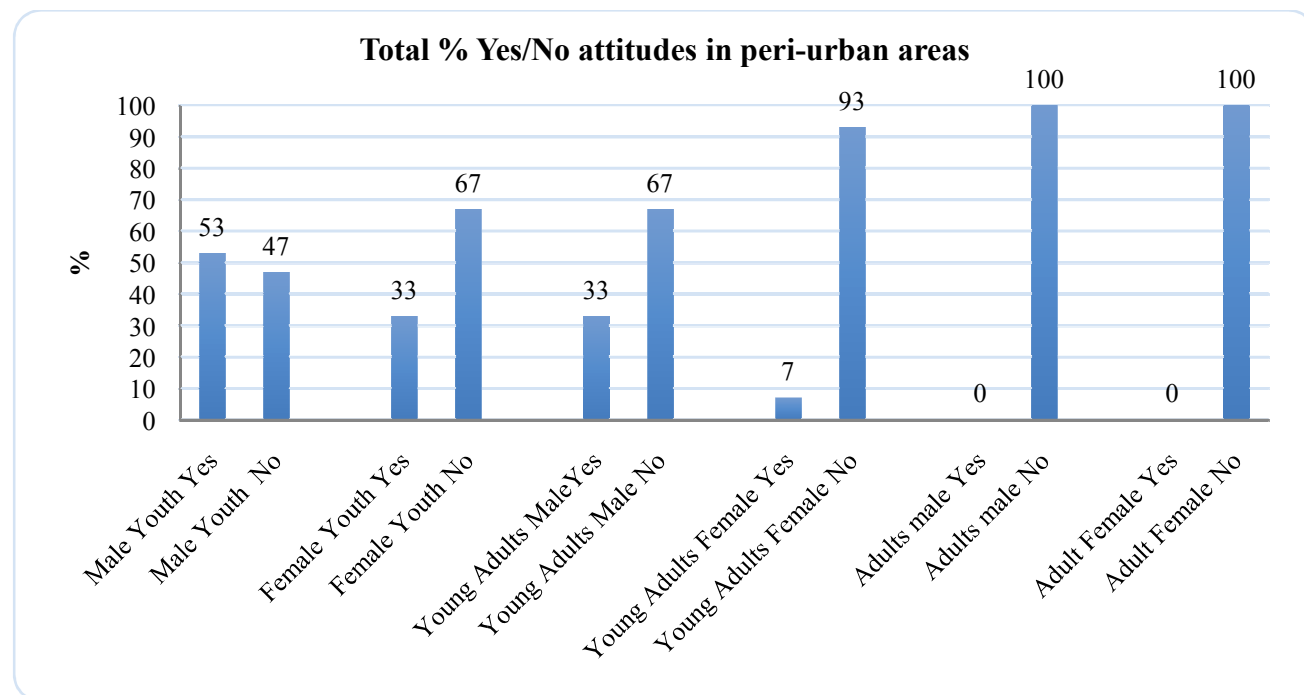
Male youth and young adults in Pumula North have a 100% acceptance of S'ncamtho followed by female youth who have an acceptance score of 80%. Adult males and female young adults both have 20% S'ncamtho acceptance and 100% adult females say no to S'ncamtho acceptance. Young males appear to use the variety more than females and they express themselves better in S'ncamtho especially when discussing topics such as sex and sexuality, soccer, and music.

In the Hillside data, the only group that has more positives than negatives to S'ncamtho acceptance are young adult males. The other groups have more negatives than positives. S'ncamtho is not very important to male youth in low density areas as they would rather use the English based variety “*isinozi*”. All female groups in the elite suburb thought S'ncamtho is not good for them and their children, and should not be accepted. The figures of acceptance are much lower in Hillside as compared to Pumula North, an indication that in urban centres, S'ncamtho is more acceptable in the locations than in the affluent suburbs.

6.2.2 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in peri-urban sites

In the three peri-urban sites, only male youth have a yes score of above 50%. Both adult groups have a 100% no to S'ncamtho acceptance. Figure 6.2b below gives the combined yes/no percentages for peri-urban sites.

Figure 6.2b: Peri-urban Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance



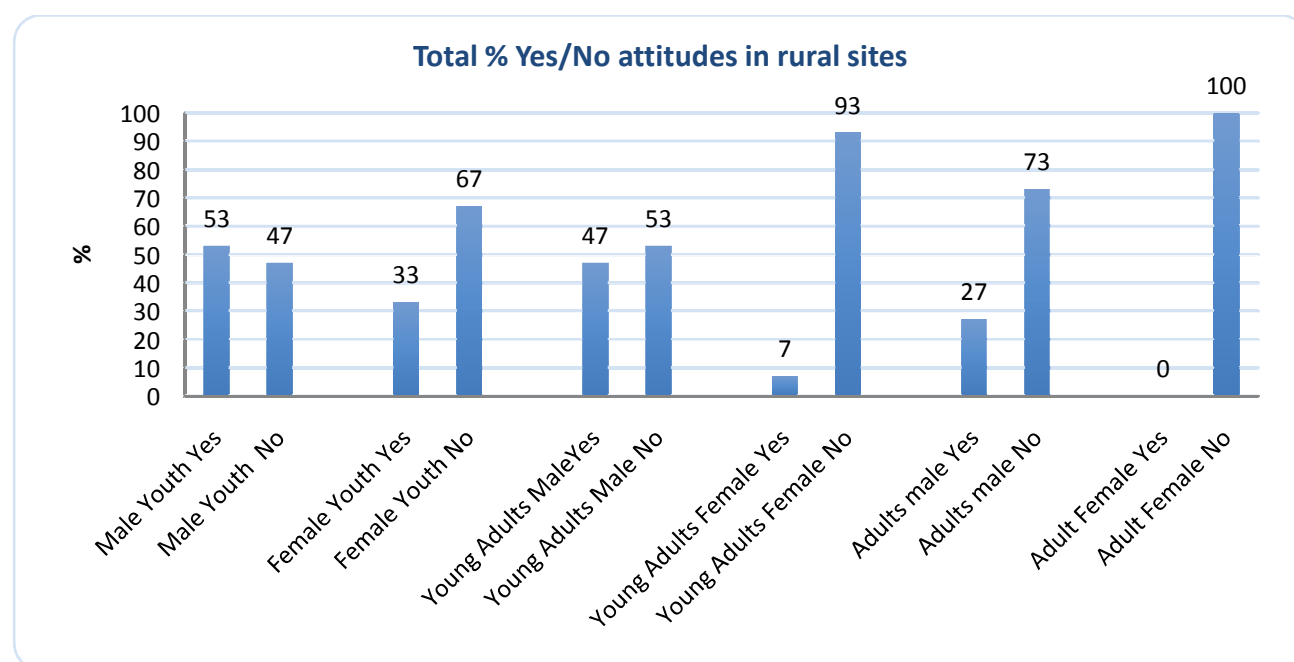
In Maphisa, only younger male adults and female youth have respondents indicating that S'ncamtho can be accepted. The older respondents and female young adults all have 100% negative responses to S'ncamtho acceptance. Youths, both males and females, have the highest acceptance scores of 60%, followed by male young adults who have an acceptance of 40%. The total acceptance to S'ncamtho in Maphisa is eight out of thirty.

Lower Gwelo has very low scores on acceptance. 90% of respondents in Lower Gwelo are against the acceptance of S'ncamtho with only 40% male youth and 20% of young adult males indicating yes to its acceptance. All females and adult men say no to the acceptance of S'ncamtho in Lower Gwelo. The area also has an influence from the Shona-based urban variety and this could be affecting S'ncamtho usage and acceptance as the two varieties may limit each other's influence and establishment. In the peri-urban category, Maphisa and Solusi have the same number of acceptance which is 27% and Lower Gwelo has the lowest of 10%. More male youth in Solusi are of the opinion that S'ncamtho should be accepted. The adult groups do not root for the acceptance of S'ncamtho, as they see it as an affront to Ndebele language and culture which they are keen on preserving.

6.2.3 YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants in rural sites

The percentage totals on yes/no to S'ncamtho acceptance in rural areas are not different from the peri-urban totals. Only male youth have a combined total acceptance score above 50%, followed by male young adults with 47%. Figure 6.2c below represents percentage yes/no totals in rural sites.

Figure 6.2c: Rural Yes/No responses to S'ncamtho acceptance.



While Inyathi also has very low acceptance ratios, they are higher than those in Hillside and peri-urban sites. Female youth in Inyathi have the highest acceptance score of 60% ahead of all male groups. Male youth and adult males both have an equal acceptance score of 40% and adult females have 100% negative responses to S'ncamtho acceptance. The results show that even in rural areas there are people who acknowledge the positive influence of S'ncamtho although they are few.

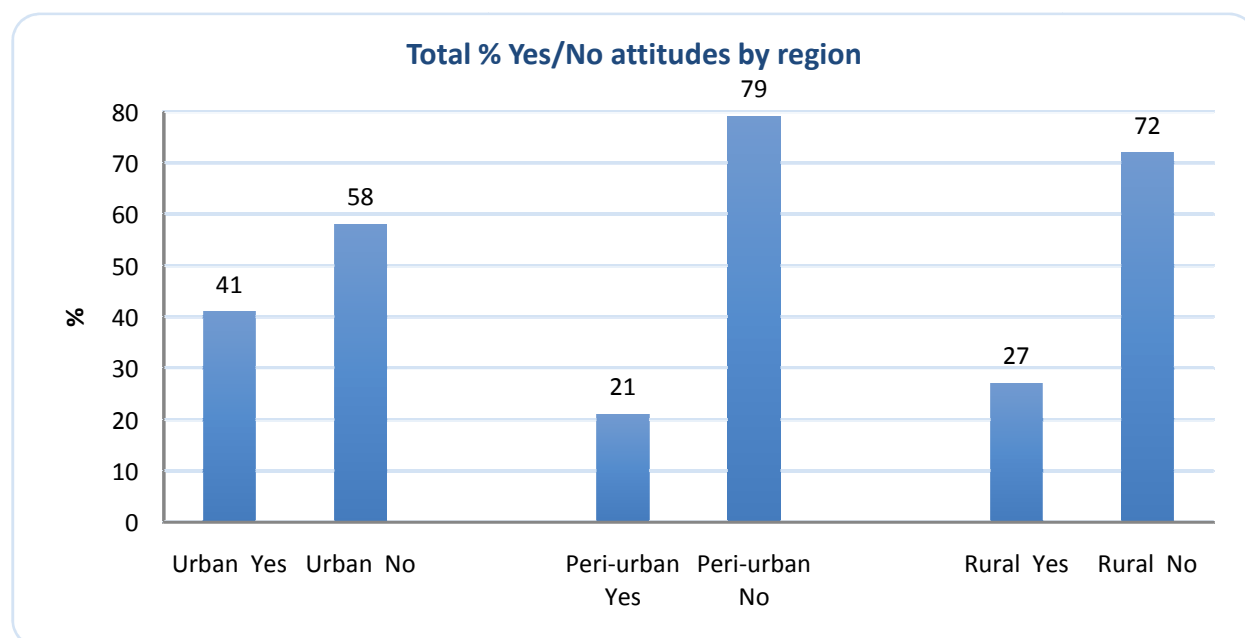
The rural area of Brunapeg has the highest acceptance scores in the rural category, 33% of all respondents in Brunapeg indicate that S'ncamtho should be accepted by the Ndebele community. Young adult females and adult females are the only groups in Brunapeg that record 100% negatives to S'ncamtho acceptance. The younger males in Brunapeg have high acceptance scores with male youth scoring 80% acceptance and young adult males scoring 60%. 20% of male adults also indicate that S'ncamtho should be accepted by the Ndebele community. The last rural site of Donsa which is the furthest from Bulawayo city has the lowest acceptances in the rural groups. All female groups in Donsa are of the opinion that S'ncamtho should not be

accepted, yet in all male groups there are percentages of acceptance. There are more acceptances in rural sites compared to peri-urban sites.

6.2.1 Summary and conclusions on YES/NO questionnaire data on S'ncamtho acceptance from key informants

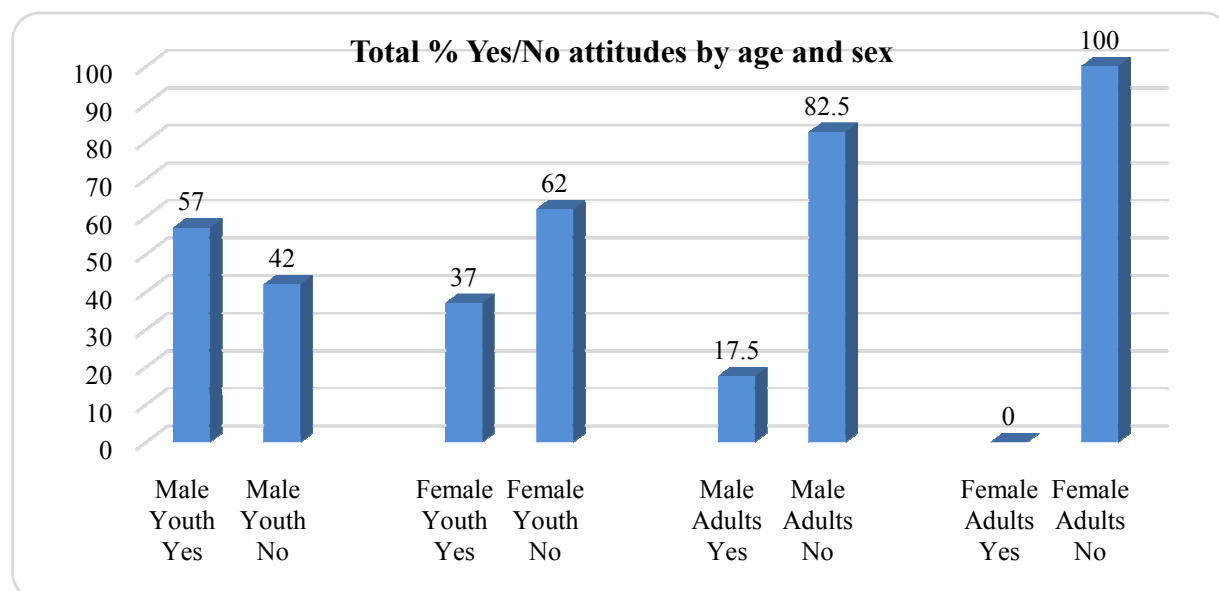
The highest acceptance is recorded in Pumula North and it is at 60% followed by a rural area Brunapeg at 33% positives to S'ncamtho acceptance. In third position is another rural area Inyathi at 30%. The lowest acceptance scores are recorded in Lower Gwelo peri-urban which records 10% acceptance followed by Donsa rural area at 20% acceptance. The highest acceptances are in the urban sites followed by rural sites as shown in Figure 6.2d below.

Figure 6.2d: Yes/No percentage totals by region.



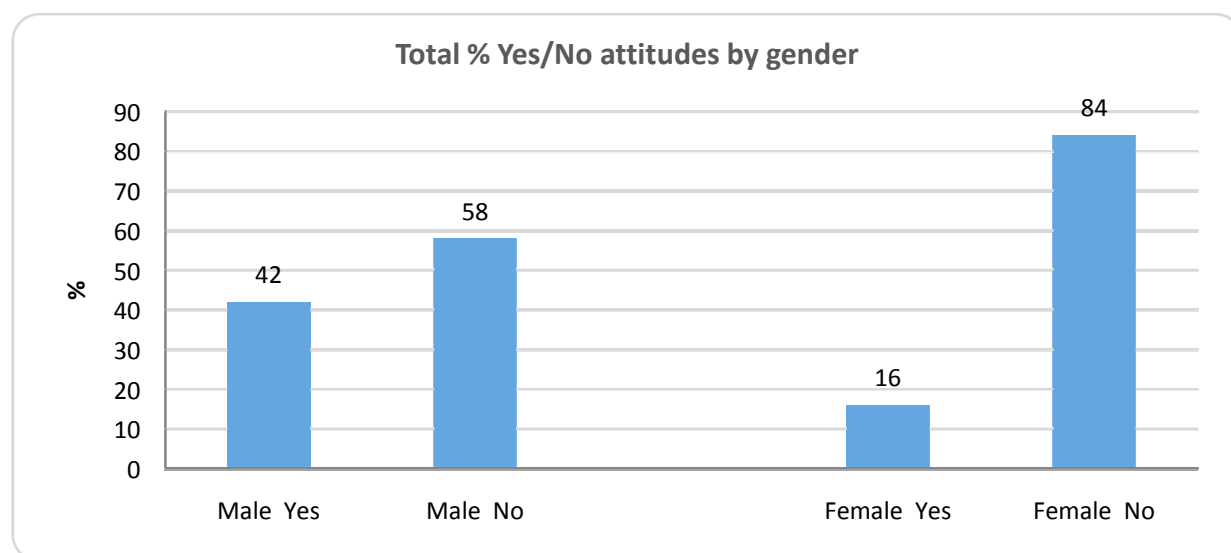
There are more acceptances in younger respondents than in the adult categories. Male youth have a higher acceptance compared to adult males and female youth have higher acceptances than adult females. More young people accept S'ncamtho usage and few older males accept it too. Older females generally do not accept S'ncamtho. Figure 6.2e shows the percentages of acceptance and their implications on age.

Figure 6.2e: Yes/No percentage totals by age and sex.



S'ncamtho is a youth language that expresses youthful topics, this explains why it is accepted more by the youth than adults. Females use S'ncamtho less (for a number of possible reasons), and this is why there is less acceptance from females compared to males. Figure 6.2f below provides the combined yes/no percentage totals across all sites by gender.

Figure 6.2f: Yes/No percentage totals by gender.



The yes/no data on acceptance of S'ncamtho give a different picture from the familiarity and usage data. While S'ncamtho is popular across all sites as shown by familiarity and usage data of S'ncamtho metaphors

people are still not comfortable with the acceptance of S'ncamtho especially in formal usage. While people know and use S'ncamtho they do not want to be seen to promote it.

6.3 Attitudes and perceptions on S'ncamtho impact on Ndebele.

Language attitudes, according to Garrett (2010:20), are 'an evaluative orientation to a social object'. There are some respondents who choose not to give reasons for their views on the acceptance of S'ncamtho but some do give explanations as to why they think S'ncamtho should or should not be accepted by the Ndebele community. The reasons that are given for the acceptance or rejection of S'ncamtho are also analysed to compliment the quantitative data from the YES/NO questionnaire responses.

Of the sixty nine key respondents who indicate that S'ncamtho should be accepted in all areas where Ndebele is used, thirty six give reasons as to why they think it should be accepted. Professional respondents also give reasons for and against S'ncamtho acceptance and most of the responses are similar. There are themes that guide responses and each reason for or against S'ncamtho acceptance can be identified under one of the following themes; modernity, inter language, avoidance taboo, argot and criminality, respect, ambiguity and over-lexicalisation, impact on education, and Ndebele purism. The various themes have a bearing on whether S'ncamtho is seen as corrupting or enriching Ndebele.

6.3.1 Modernity motivated attitudes

S'ncamtho takes part of its metaphors and lexemes from the modern environment and people who argue for its acceptance use modernity as one of the reasons for accepting it. Some youth are of the opinion that S'ncamtho should be accepted because it represents the present culture. One male youth from Solusi indicates that S'ncamtho enriches Ndebele as it represents life as lived today.

6.3.1a. *Siyanonisa ngoba yiyo impilo esesiyiphila.*

'It enriches Ndebele because it represents the way we live today.' (Male youth respondent-Solusi).

There are some who reason that S'ncamtho as an urban variety is very important in the development of Ndebele today as it helps express elements of modernity.

6.3.1b. It is impacting Ndebele positively because it teaches the youth using materials they understand. (Female nurse-Inyathi).

The nurse indicates that she engages the youth in health programmes and projects, and when teaching the youth, modernity is key to their understanding. S'ncamtho is a variety that expresses modernity and is useful for modern communication.

6.3.2 Inter language and terminology development

There are some who reason that S'ncamtho is easy to learn and understand for non-Ndebele speakers when compared to Ndebele. One respondent notes that people who do not understand Ndebele can understand S'ncamtho and for this reason S'ncamtho should be accepted to enhance wider communication. Swanepoel (1978) argues that slang can help languages express elements better in some contexts. Another respondent highlights that S'ncamtho is much clearer than Ndebele in some topics, and that it is a better way to translate English. These responses are captured in 6.3.2a and 6.3.2b below.

6.3.2a. *Siyanceda ngoba labantu abangazisisi isiNdebele bayasizwa.*

'It (S'ncamtho) helps because even people who do not understand Ndebele can understand it'. (Female youth respondent- Brunapeg)

6.3.2b. *Siyanonisa ngoba siyazwisiseka njalo sitransletha isilungu ngcono.*

'It enriches Ndebele and is easy to understand and it is a better way to translate English.' (Female young adult respondent- Pumula North).

The theme of S'ncamtho as an inter-language makes respondents feel it should be accepted because it helps people who want to learn Ndebele and helps Ndebele people who want to learn English. It is believed from the responses that S'ncamtho is better equipped than Ndebele when it comes to terminology in modern and specialised fields and it should be accepted so that English to Ndebele translation can benefit from the inter-language.

6.3.3 Avoidance taboo influenced attitudes

S'ncamtho is also seen as rich in avoidance taboos. Some Ndebele euphemisms for taboo words tend to be also tabooed by their association with tabooed concepts. The high lexical turnover in S'ncamtho creates new euphemisms that are convenient for Ndebele speakers. While the majority notes that some S'ncamtho metaphors are a bit on the extreme, there are some S'ncamtho metaphors that serve Ndebele speakers as euphemisms for taboo words. Some of the reasons given for the acceptance of S'ncamtho are that it drives

certain points home better than Ndebele and that there are some tabooed words that are better expressed using S'ncamtho euphemisms as indicated in 6.3.3a, 6.3.3b and 6.3.3c below.

6.3.3a. They should accept it because it drives certain points home which might be difficult to express in real Ndebele, (Male adult respondent-Pumula North).

6.3.3b. It helps as there are words you cannot say in public such as *ukuzeka* 'to have sex for males' and you use *ukutshaya inyawo* 'to hit the legs'. (Male young adult respondent-Donsa).

6.3.3c. It is good because people can say less direct vulgar using S'ncamtho metaphors (Female pastor- Pumula North).

S'ncamtho is a linguistic resource that is available for teaching the youth especially on reproductive health and moral issues and this is why nurses and pastors accept it as a way of speaking to the youth, whilst using their own language. In health and moral issues, nurses and pastors have to navigate taboo elements and they note that S'ncamtho helps them to avoid tabooed words using contemporary euphemisms. Male nurses indicate that S'ncamtho is useful in helping them engage the youth in health matters especially reproductive health issues. Since most of the issues are related to reproductive health, there are many tabooed terms and S'ncamtho euphemistic metaphors replace these. The metaphors come in conveniently to address the youth. Statements below are samples from nurses who are for the acceptance of S'ncamtho in their line of work.

6.3.3d. Sexually transmitted diseases are prevalent among the youth and in our outreach programmes we have to describe these and S'ncamtho is very handy in expressing terms to do with sexuality. (Male nurse- Pumula North).

6.3.3e. S'ncamtho has many euphemisms and these are good for our community awareness programmes. (Male nurse-Inyathi).

S'ncamtho is considered a convenient linguistic resource when Ndebele speakers want to avoid taboo in speaking, especially for people who work in the reproductive health sector.

6.3.4 Argot and criminality in S'ncamtho perceptions

The need to conceal information and communication results in the rise of secret languages in the world (Yip 1982). The theme of argot and criminality creates both positive and negative attitudes towards S'ncamtho. The youth use the theme to argue for acceptance of S'ncamtho as a youth argot to exclude adults from their talk. Adults on the other side think S'ncamtho corrupts Ndebele youth as it is a variety associated with criminal activity and secrecy. One male youth from Maphisa peri-urban site notes that S'ncamtho enriches their Ndebele because it helps them as youth to have their own communication which adults cannot

understand. His claim treats S'ncamtho as a criminal argot, yet it has a wider audience and many adults can understand some S'ncamtho. He notes that:

6.3.4a. *Isitsotsi siyanonisa ngoba asifuni abadala bezwe ukuthi sithini.*

‘Tsotsitaal enriches Ndebele because we do not want elders to hear what we are saying’ (Male youth respondent Maphisa).

The acceptance in the above response relates to the youth and their need to have their own variety that is not understood by adults. However, data indicates that many adults know S'ncamtho. The reason is also negative as it seeks to make S'ncamtho a secretive code. An adult respondent concurs with the youth argot claims when she notes that:

6.3.4b. *Kasingamukelwa ngoba abantwabethu asisabezwa ukuthi bathini.*

‘It should not be accepted because now we cannot understand our children when they talk,’ (Adult female Donsa).

When S'ncamtho is used by the youth as a secret language to exclude adults, it cannot be acceptable in standard usage as it remains in the realm of slang and unfit to be applied in communication that affects all Ndebele speakers. Resistance to youth languages can be linked to gerontocratic attitudes of resisting the youths themselves as opinion leaders. Gerontocracy is a tendency by elders in society to mistrust and exclude youth. Eisele (1979) traces gerontocracy research back to Plato who reasoned that in gerontocracy it is for the elder man to rule and for the younger man to submit. African societies are generally gerontocratic (Adegbindin 2011) and youths are seen as immature and lacking in many respects. The attitude to exclude youths simply because they are young creates images of the youth as directionless in society and this affects attitudes towards their language varieties as well. Adult respondents associate S'ncamtho with criminality. There are some people who see S'ncamtho as a language associated with criminal and illicit activities such as stealing and prostitution:

6.3.4c. *Akumelanga samukelwe ngoba silulimi lwezinto ezingaqondanga njenge prostitution.*

‘It should not be accepted because it is associated with bad things such as prostitution.’ (Female adult respondent-Pumula North).

6.3.4d. S'ncamtho is perceived negatively as it is associated with thugs. (Male teacher- Brunapeg).

Adult respondents and rural pastors perceive S'ncamtho as a variety used by prostitutes and criminals. A male rural pastor in an interview speaks strongly against the use of S'ncamtho in church. The pastor further indicates that slang and youth varieties should not be spoken by a pastor even outside church. He associates S'ncamtho with evil and *dagga* (marijuana) and warns that it should be kept out of holy places like churches. He acknowledges that there are some new churches which allow S'ncamtho and he sees this liberalism as being spiritually lost. Below are some of the views he gives against S'ncamtho in churches:

6.3.4e. *Nxa sisenkonzweni kasidlali phela angithi yindawo esihlangana khona leNkosi? Manje izinto zembanje ziyabezidingani shuwa?*

‘When we are in church it is no play time is it not the place where we meet God? So where is the place for drugs there?’
(Male pastor- Donsa).

6.3.4f. *Okululinyana kwenu lokhu ngokokudlala asifuni kukuzwa enkonzweni. Bakhona abamatshetshi amatsha abayumela ingoma lokukhuluma kwabantwana kodwa mina ngithi yikulahleka lokho.*

‘This language of yours is for playing not in church. There are some new churches that allow youth songs and language in church but I see that as being lost.’ (Male pastor- Donsa).

Male nurses who indicate that S'ncamtho helps in communicating health issues also note that many people think it is associated with bad behaviour and can lead the youth into risks such as alcoholism, drug abuse and sexually transmitted diseases. While the youth perceive S'ncamtho as a positive secret variety that helps them to exclude adults, the adults and pastors view it as a criminal code that is used by criminals and should not be used by people unless they want to be associated with criminality.

6.3.5 S'ncamtho and respect

Respect is one of the themes that generate only negative attitudes from adult respondents. Adults are of the opinion that S'ncamtho promotes disrespect in young people and the society at large. Some types of metaphors and topics that are prevalent in S'ncamtho are related to male youth and may be offensive to other members of the society hence the need to keep it out of the rest of society as indicated in 6.3.5a below:

6.3.5a. It promotes disrespect in society. (Male adult respondent- Hillside).

Some female nurses have different ideas on S'ncamtho opting to use it outside of their professional communication. One nurse argues that, if the issue is about clarifying issues then English is better, as most youths in Zimbabwe understand English. Another nurse notes that the problem with using S'ncamtho on serious health matters is that the variety lowers the level of seriousness and respect, and important health information risks being trivialised when communicated in S'ncamtho. Below are examples of interview statements that are against the use of S'ncamtho from female nurses who think it lowers respect and seriousness.

6.3.5b. Most of the youth in Zimbabwe understand English so why not use English instead of S'ncamtho? (Female nurse interviewee- Inyathi).

6.3.5c. *Abantwana ungakhuluma njengabo bacina becabanga ukuthi uyadlala*

‘if you speak like the youth they tend to think you are joking’ (Female nurse interviewee-Pumula North).

The seriousness of health issues makes it difficult for S'ncamtho to be widely used in nursing. However, there is evidence from the interviews that it is used by nurses to communicate especially to the youth and to avoid tabooed elements.

Teachers use some S'ncamtho with their students outside the classroom although they warn about the need to be careful as this can lead to loss of dignity by the teacher. Some female teachers regard S'ncamtho as the evil affecting students, especially boys. They indicate that as teachers, they are paid to teach Ndebele as it is the subject on the syllabus, not S'ncamtho. One teacher indicates that once S'ncamtho is used to communicate with students even outside the classroom, teachers risk being disrespected by the students. Negative views on S'ncamtho from teachers below are inclined towards the theme of respect:

6.3.5d. We are paid to teach proper language not street language. (Female teacher interviewee–Brunapeg).

6.3.5e. When you speak S'ncamtho with your students they tend to disrespect you, and we emphasise on good Ndebele language and culture not street things. (Female teacher interviewee– Brunapeg).

Slang lowers the level of seriousness and this is why it is generally used by peer groups. When it is used across age groups, it lowers the respect adults should be given by the youth and most adults do not appreciate losing their respect and being disrespected.

6.3.6 Perceptions based on ambiguity and over-lexicalisation in S'ncamtho

Most adults and some youth respondents agree that S'ncamtho has a lot of ambiguity, as one word can have multiple meanings, creating problems should it be accepted as a development that enriches Ndebele. One respondent points out this ambiguity when she says:

6.3.6a. *Kasingamukelwa ngoba kasicaci ibalalinye lingatsho izinto ezinengi.*

‘It should be rejected because it is not clear as one word can have several meanings.’ (Adult female respondent-Hillside).

The high lexical turnover is good in stylising the youth variety and the youth prize it as innovation and novelty, but some youth think it cannot be accepted in school because it changes meanings and can confuse teachers who are mostly adults. A youth respondent notes that:

6.3.6b. *iS'ncamtho ingahlupha especially esgela ngoba amabala amanengi antshintsha kakhulu.*

‘S'ncamtho can be a problem especially in school because the majority of words change a lot’. (Male youth respondent-Solusi).

The ambiguity that is created by over-lexicalisation makes S'ncamtho not ideal to operate as a language in formal areas because clarity may be a problem. Ambiguity is a theme that elicits negative perceptions on S'ncamtho acceptance.

6.3.7 S'ncamtho impact on education

Teachers follow syllabi that prescribe the type of Ndebele they should teach in class and this excludes S'ncamtho. The exclusion of S'ncamtho from the school system is exhibited by the debate that arose after the S'ncamtho term for prostitute *umahotsha* was included in a Grade Seven (Primary School) examination. The inclusion of the term raised a lot of problems with some purists arguing that it is slang and slang cannot be used in examinations. However, critically reviewing S'ncamtho and Ndebele, it is not linguistically and socially possible for S'ncamtho and Ndebele to share space and speakers and remain independent of each other's influences on the other. Teachers indicate that some S'ncamtho terms have become so common that they should be allowed in written Ndebele in schools. It is parents and non-teachers who opine that S'ncamtho affects Ndebele marks in school as shown in responses below:

6.3.7a. *Singamukelwa ngoba siyaphambanisa ingane ezisakhulayo njalo senza abantwana bafeyile isiNdebele.*

‘It should be rejected as it spoils children and makes children fail Ndebele at school.’ (Male youth respondent- Lower Gwelo).

6.3.7b. *Isitsotsi singamukelwa ngoba duze nje abantwana bazabe bengasazi isiNdebele.*

‘Tsotsitaal should not be accepted because at this rate very soon children will not be able to speak Ndebele.’ (Adult male respondent- Inyathi).

Most parents are worried that the prevalent usage of S'ncamtho by their children has negative effects on their Ndebele marks at school and their mastery of the Ndebele language generally. They note that S'ncamtho influences Ndebele children negatively in their social development and that it interferes with their learning Ndebele at school, resulting in them failing Ndebele as S'ncamtho is not examinable and Ndebele is. Other parents express fears that in the near future, children would not be able to speak Ndebele, as they will be speaking S'ncamtho and for this reason they think S'ncamtho should not be accepted as it impacts Ndebele negatively.

6.3.8 Attitudes based on Ndebele purism

While some nurses and pastors think S'ncamtho is a necessary medium of communication in their line of duty, most of the teachers and media practitioners are against its use and they encourage the use of standard Ndebele instead of the urban youth variety in formal domains. Ncube (2005:301) alludes to Ndebele conservatism and this conservative nature of Ndebele helps to explain the aggressive resistance to S'ncamtho exhibited by some people in the so-called defence of the Ndebele language. Most respondents and interviewees are for Ndebele purism and they fear that S'ncamtho is overtaking, killing and corrupting Ndebele as indicated below:

6.3.8a. It should be discouraged because now it is overtaking Ndebele. (Male teacher respondent- Pumula North).

6.3.8b. It should be banned as it is killing Ndebele. (Male broadcaster-interview).

6.3.8c. It kills Ndebele culture as it expresses a mixed urban culture. (Female journalist-interview)

Another problem raised in the negative responses to S'ncamtho is the fact that it does not represent a single culture but it is a concoction of several cultures in the urban environment and is mostly influenced by western ideas. Those who are against S'ncamtho in the media, use Ndebele purism as the reason S'ncamtho should not be accepted. They acknowledge that S'ncamtho impacts standard Ndebele and media houses have created language policies to encourage Ndebele purism. The views of those who are against the use of S'ncamtho in the media are captured below:

6.3.8d. *Abafana laba ngomafikizolo thina singena eZBC wawuthi ungakhuluma ibala leslang emsakazweni umsebenzi uhle uphele. Lamanje umthetho onqabela islang usekhona kodwa abantu sebesenza umathanda nje.*

‘These boys are new when we got into ZBC you were fired for saying one slang word on air. Even today the law is still there but people ignore it.’ (Male – broadcaster focus group discussion).

6.3.8e. *Thina nxa sisemsakazweni sisemsebenzini njalo sifuna abalaleli bonke bakhululeke ngoba ngeke sithi abadala kabayelala sikhulume idoti labantwababo.*

‘When we are on radio we are at work and we want all listeners to be free, we cannot ask elders to go and sleep so that we can speak rubbish with their children.’ (Female- broadcaster interview).

6.3.8f. *Umsebenzi wami yikufundisa abantwana isiNdebele esiqondileyo lokho ngikwenza ngokubaqondisa nxabelahleka, mina vele ungakhuluma okuyisitsotsana kwakho ngiyakuqondisa. Islang sibi ngoba nxa sisamukela sithatha indawo yesiNdebele, kambe sengingaze ngibulale ulimi lwabokhokho ngokufuna ukuthabisa insane ezisanganayo?*

‘My job is to teach children proper Ndebele and I correct them when they get lost into slang. S'ncamtho is bad because accepting it is replacing Ndebele. How can I kill the language of my ancestors just to please mad youth?’ (Female broadcaster- focus group discussion).

6.3.8g. *Thina lapha kuMthunywa umthetho ucacile* No slang finish and *klaar bonke bayawazi lowomthetho*.

‘Here at *Mthunywa* the law is clear No slang finish and *klaar* and they all know this law.’ (Female- journalist interview).

Both the ZBC and *Umthunywa* have language policies and these policies outlaw slang language. The laws work with *Umthunywa* as it is edited before publication and all slang and S'ncamtho can be sifted. However, in the case of ZBC broadcasters, it is difficult especially on live programmes as language is used spontaneously. *Umthunywa* newspaper goes to the extent of distancing itself from social media platforms that are using its name to post news in S'ncamtho. The Public Relations Officer is quoted as saying:

*Kulezigilamkhuba ezisebenzisa igama lephephandaba leli ngendlela engayisiyo. Izigilamkhuba lezi zibhala inhlamba ngenhloso yokungcolisa ibizo lephephandaba likaMthunywa elilodumo kwezokuphakulela ababali balo indaba zeqiniso, ezakhayo leziphakamisa isiNtu kuleli.*⁶⁷

‘There are criminals that use the name of your newspaper wrongly. These criminals write vulgar to tarnish the newspaper which you know to bring you truthful and developmental news in language that encourages culture in this country.’

S'ncamtho is seen as a corrupt variety that corrupts Ndebele and the newspaper strives to stay clear of the corruption. The paper is against any deviation from standard Ndebele, yet it produces tabloid type content that is popular with S'ncamtho speakers.

6.3.9 Summary and conclusions on attitudes and perceptions on S'ncamtho impact on Ndebele.

Out of a total of 240 key respondents, 171 indicate that S'ncamtho should not be accepted as compared to the 69 who root for its acceptance. Of the 171 who opine that S'ncamtho should not be accepted, twenty two give reasons and the reasons are chiefly- that it is secretive, it is associated with crime, it has a high lexical turn over and it kills the Ndebele language. There are more people who believe S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele more negatively than positively. There are far more respondents who say no to the acceptance of S'ncamtho compared to those who say yes to its acceptance. Those who are for the acceptance of S'ncamtho give reasons such as; it is a secret code for the youth, it represents modern and emerging culture, it is easy to understand and it is easier to translate from English to S'ncamtho than it is from English to Ndebele. Those who are against S'ncamtho indicate that it is ambiguous, promotes disrespect in society and affects Ndebele marks at school and Ndebele learning by children. Youths are for S'ncamtho for reasons of modernity and

⁶⁷Available: <http://www.umthunywa.co.zw/?p=15047> [2017, May 23].

argot while adults who are for it do so for taboo avoidance. More males are for S'ncamtho compared to females. Older females associate S'ncamtho with criminality and lack of respect.

The total number of professionals who say yes to S'ncamtho acceptance is eight out of twenty two and those who say no are fourteen out of twenty two. The professionals also give reasons to support their opinions on S'ncamtho acceptance. The reasons they give are not very different from those given by the key informants. Broadcasters and journalists who filled the questionnaires did so with the background of their professional conduct rules that prohibit the use of S'ncamtho among other prohibitions. This may explain why most media practitioners are against the use of S'ncamtho. Pastors and nurses who work with the youth are more receptive to S'ncamtho. Teachers associate S'ncamtho with juvenile delinquency in schools due to its association with criminal activities and most note that it should not be accepted because it is associated with criminals. Media practitioners also note that S'ncamtho should be discouraged because it is competing with Ndebele and its growth means the death of Ndebele language and culture.

While some professionals believe that S'ncamtho should be accepted and used to address youth concerns, the majority see it as a variety that should not be given space in professional communication. Urban and rural pastors operate in different environments and the rural pastors and their churches tend to be more conservative while the urban counterparts are more liberal on language use. There seems to be a difference between Pentecostal and Orthodox churches on the use of S'ncamtho. Pentecostal churches are more liberal and have more youths while orthodox churches are conservative and have larger adult populations in their congregations.

6.4 Changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho

While the majority of respondents and language policies are against the acceptance of S'ncamtho there are observations and responses that indicate changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho. The research includes observations of S'ncamtho usage in Ndebele society, the media, adverts, the Ndebele dictionary *Isichazamazwi sesiNdebele* (ISN) and work stations for the professional informants. The youth who speak S'ncamtho are key players in society today and they in a way control popular culture. This has seen S'ncamtho spread to the whole Ndebele society and has influenced a shift in attitudes towards tolerance of S'ncamtho. This is seen in education, the media, churches, adverts and in the Ndebele dictionary. S'ncamtho spreads even faster and influences people more through music, the internet, media and social media. The

observations and responses confirm that there are some elements of S'ncamtho that are now part of the Ndebele lexicon and there are some which may not be standard but are widely used by the population of Ndebele speakers. Attitudes are changing towards S'ncamtho.

6.4.1 Changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho in education, churches and the media

The teaching profession deals with the youth as teachers are the ones who teach Ndebele and other subjects at school. Some teachers indicate that they use S'ncamtho with especially boys outside the classroom. One of the interviewed teachers is even speaking S'ncamtho in the interview. He indicates that girls also understand S'ncamtho but it is dangerous to use S'ncamtho with secondary and high school girls as he thinks S'ncamtho reduces the distance between the teacher and his students. The girls can easily think he wants to propose love to them which could get him into trouble. A female teacher thinks S'ncamtho cannot be accepted wholesale. However, there are some S'ncamtho terms that have lasted long enough to be standardised into Ndebele. Comments that indicate a change of attitudes towards S'ncamtho from teachers are listed below:

6.4.1a. *Abafana siyasampa labo ngesitsotsi nxa singekho eklasini njengakumasports lengadini, okungosisi ungacamtha lakho kungacina kubona angani uyacuncanywa kukufake esmokweni.*

‘We speak to boys in tsotsitaal when we are out of class, for example during sports and gardening, but if you use it on girls they may think you love them and put you in trouble’. (Male teacher-Brunapeg).

6.4.1b. *Kulamanye amabala esitsotsi asengafakwa ekubhaleni eskolo njengabotshomi labo zithini kodwa umahotsha lingani liyethusa.*

‘There are some S'ncamtho terms that can now be allowed in writing such as *tshomi* ‘friend’ and *zithini* ‘greeting’ but *mahotsha* ‘prostitute’ is a bit coarse. (Female teacher- Pumula North).

Urban churches appear to bear the greatest influence from S'ncamtho and some have given in to the variety and use it for services an indication that attitudes are changing. However, there are conservative churches in the city that still resist youth varieties. Urban Pentecostal church pastors have no problems with using S'ncamtho as they say it is the language of the majority of their congregants who are youth. One male pastor even speaks and sings in S'ncamtho to prove that he uses it in his church. The pastor gives positive comments on the use of S'ncamtho as narrated below:

6.4.1c. In church we have different programmes and when we are doing youth programmes the language is tsotsitaal. (Female pastor- Bulawayo).

6.4.1d. *Abantwana kufanele bazi ukuthi labo bamukelekile ecast bangene estayileni sevangeli lengoma zabo zesipansula sizitshune zifakaze ivangeli uyabo.*

‘The youth should know that they are welcome in church so that they get into the gospel style and we tune up their *pantsula* songs into gospel ones’. (Male pastor Bulawayo-interview).

The majority of media practitioners are against the use of S'ncamtho, but there are some who indicate that the use of S'ncamtho especially in broadcasting is only natural, as it is the current mode of urban communication. The broadcasters are divided on the matter much that one warns that those who use S'ncamtho on air risk losing their jobs as the policy states. Those who are for S'ncamtho indicate that the authorities have realised that the policy on language does not bind when it comes to youth programmes this is why they have not been fired. One *Umthunywa* journalist pleaded with the researcher to convince authorities in the newspaper to allow him to use a bit of S'ncamtho on the entertainment section of the paper. The policy on S'ncamtho and slang is inconsistently applied by the ZBC because it allows Kwaito and House music from Zimbabwe and South Africa to be aired and most of these songs are sung in S'ncamtho or iScamtho. Four extracts from interviews and focus group discussions that indicate changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho in the media are given below:

6.4.1e. *Mina vele ngisampa lamajida iS'ncamtho ohlelweni lwami oluthiwa “Ezabatsha”, lesa osibuzayo sesaphuma estayileni⁶⁸ manje sesikhuluma ngabomasangweji⁶⁹ hatshi omasalu.*

‘I speak S'ncamtho with “gents” on my programme called Youth Issues. The metaphors you have are out dated now we speak of *masangweji* not *masalu*.’ (Male- broadcaster).

6.4.1f. *Kanti vele nxa kuluhlelo lwabatsha singaphinda sithini? Nxa befona bayaringa so vele kumele lawe ubeqwakwaks. Umthetho ungaze uthi no slang kodwa kumele sitshaye ingoma zeKwaito leHouse eziculwa ngesitsotsi vele kuyafana.*

‘If it is a youth programme what can we do? When phoning-in they ring S'ncamtho and you should be streetwise. Eventhough policy says no to S'ncamtho, but we play Kwaito and House songs that are sung in S'ncamtho- it is the same thing.’ (Male broadcaster-interview).

6.4.1g. *Umsakazo uyatshiyana inhlelo zabatsha kumbe ezinye ezifana lamataalk show omphakathi ungasiphosela islang kodwa kakube ngokulengqondo lakho.*

‘Broadcasting differs, in youth and talk shows you can throw in a bit of slang but it should not be too much.’ (Female-broadcaster).

6.4.1h. *Lapha umthetho unzima kodwa okunye ngabelina elifunda ngezolimi liyabatshela ukuthi batshintshe ezinye izinto zifuna islang vele njengohlelo Ezokuzithokozisa.*

‘Here rules are tough but you linguists should tell them to change as some things need slang like the section on entertainment.’ (Male- journalist).

⁶⁸ S'ncamtho for fashion taken from English style.

⁶⁹ S'ncamtho stylistic rendition of the S'ncamtho metaphor for mother *umasalu*

The major reasons for the use of S'ncamtho in the media are the fact that youth programmes should be conducted in the language of the youth. When people phone into programmes they use S'ncamtho and some of the songs played on radio are sung in S'ncamtho. There are valid reasons for youth programmes to be conducted in S'ncamtho, as the youth use the variety and correcting them may be tantamount to keeping them out of radio. Teachers, pastors and media practitioners exhibit changing attitudes towards accommodating S'ncamtho.

6.4.2 Changing attitudes as observed on the treatment of S'ncamtho metaphors in Ndebele lexicography

Editors of the Ndebele dictionary ISN find it prudent to include some of the popular S'ncamtho terms in the dictionary. Modern lexicographic work in Ndebele is a fairly recent exercise and more still has to be done to create a more pragmatic dictionary for the language. Hadebe (2004:90) notes that 'research on lexicography in the Ndebele language is still in its early stages.' There are many developments that have changed Ndebele vocabulary such as war and Christianity, and S'ncamtho has had its fair share on the change.

Hadebe (2002:125) and Khumalo (2004:110) justify the inclusion in ISN of vocabulary that came with the war period in Zimbabwe such as *umthengisi* 'sell out', *umjibha* 'war collaborator', *ukhijane* 'young boy', *ogwa* 'guerrillas'. The war is not a permanent feature in Ndebele but it left its mark, yet, S'ncamtho is permanently part of Ndebele and should indeed contribute more vocabulary to the language. Khumalo (2004:111) also alludes to the fact that Christianity also influences vocabulary change in Ndebele through semantic changes and shifts on words such as *ukukhuleka* which originally meant a salutation when getting into someone's home, but Christianity brought the prayer meaning to the word and the ISN acknowledges the prayer meaning of the word. S'ncamtho, like Christianity and the war, has introduced new vocabulary and in some instances creates synonyms. Some of these are used across sex and age within Ndebele aggregates and the editors include some as an indication of changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho.

The ISN can be credited on a pragmatic basis for including some S'ncamtho terms but they do not account and represent all popular S'ncamtho words used in Ndebele today. It is important to note that in the ISN, some words are marked or identified as originating from S'ncamtho while others are not, a sign that these have become so popular it is difficult to identify them as S'ncamtho. Table 6.4 below highlights 14 words used in S'ncamtho that are included in the ISN, and indicates whether they are marked as S'ncamtho. The table also gives the ISN meaning of the terms and juxtaposes it with the S'ncamtho meaning of the same terms.

Table 6.4: S'ncamtho words in the ISN

S'ncamtho term in ISN	Marked as S'ncamtho	ISN definition	S'ncamtho meaning
<i>nikisi</i>	No	PN-Nothing	PN-Nothing
<i>imenya</i>	Yes	N-girlfriend	N-girlfriend
<i>itshomi</i>	Yes	N-friend	N-friend
<i>idladla</i>	No	N-small hut	N-house
<i>itshamali</i>	No	N-mistress	N-mistress
<i>isipansula</i>	No	N-dance	N-dance/culture
<i>isikhokho</i>	No	N-burnt food lining	N-expert
<i>impintshi</i>	No	N-friend	N-friend
<i>ingamula</i>	No	N-gentleman	N-gentleman
<i>inyuku</i>	No	N-new pastor	N-money
<i>zwakala</i>	No	VB-to be heard/felt	VB-come
<i>sampula</i>	No	VB-advertise	VB-sample
<i>gawula</i>	No	VB-chop	VB-eat
<i>ikopo</i>	No	N-head	N-head

A total of 14 S'ncamtho lexis are identified in the ISN but, only two of the 14, *imenya* and *itshomi*, are marked as originating from the youth variety as shown in the extracts below:

imenya bz 9. *imenya ligama lesimanje lentombi esikhulile esingakhonjiswa.*

‘a *menya* noun class 9. a *menya* is a modern word for a girl who is grown up and can be proposed’ (ISN, 2001:139).

itshomi bz 9. *ngolimi lwesimanje itshomi ngumngane wakho.*

‘a *tshomi* noun class 9. In modern Ndebele a *tshomi* is your friend’ (ISN, 2001:272).

Some of the terms appear to have been totally adapted to the language such that the editors do not see the need to mark them as S'ncamtho or they do not recognise the S'ncamtho origin. These are S'ncamtho words such as *impintshi* below:

impintshi bz 9. *impintshi yakho ngumuntu elizwanayo.*

‘a *mpintshi* noun class 9. your *mpintshi* is someone you are close to’ (ISN, 2001: 145).

While youth varieties are popular for re-lexicalising base language lexis to create polysemy, there appear to be new S'ncamtho words in the ISN that are not re-lexicalised. S'ncamtho also borrows from other languages and youth cultures to create new terms that are not in the base language. In the new S'ncamtho words, the meaning ascribed to them in the ISN and their S'ncamtho meaning correspond. This is in the case of words

such as *imenya*, *itshomi*, *ingamula*, *nikisi*, *itshamali*, *impintshi*, and *ikopo*. The new words that have corresponding meanings make up 50% of the sampled S'ncamtho terms in the ISN, a figure that vindicates the S'ncamtho contribution to Ndebele vocabulary outside relexicalisation.

The other seven words are a result of re-lexicalising Ndebele words or extending meaning to derive meaning that differs from that given in the ISN. The way people speak the language determines what they want in a dictionary, and capturing the polysemy in words affected by popular S'ncamtho meanings represents what users do. Benjoint (2000:140) argues that:

Lexicographers in many countries have recently felt the need to go beyond empirical observations on the use of the general-purpose dictionary, seeking to find out what the users really do, as opposed to what they are believed to do, in order to make sure that the dictionary really corresponds to the needs of the public.

The S'ncamtho meanings in the 50% of re-lexicalised words in Table 6.4 are operational in spoken Ndebele today, their absence in the ISN may betray the pragmatic claim in head-word defining. However, the exclusion of these is good for Ndebele language purism, and it may be the case that S'ncamtho should have its own dictionary.

While revivalism is one of the guiding principles in the ISN, some old and obsolete meanings are chosen ahead of the relexicalised S'ncamtho ones. The rural tradition which is associated with archaic lexis is fast fading and S'ncamtho relexicalises these archaic words. The new S'ncamtho meanings are common in some cases compared to the excavated old meaning. For example the word *isikhokho* has been popular in S'ncamtho for some time now, meaning a boss or expert but the ISN chooses to represent it as a variant of *ubukhokho* 'food crust' and the popular S'ncamtho meaning is excluded as shown below:

isikhokho bz 7. *BONA ubukhokho*.

'a *sikhokho* noun class 7. SEE *ubukhokho* crust' (ISN, 2001: 232).

ubukhokho bz 14. *ubukhokho luqweqwe olutholakala esibunu sembiza ngemva kokuphekwa kwesitshwala*.

'porridge crust noun class 14. Porridge crust is the hard crust found at the bottom of a pot after cooking porridge' (ISN, 2001: 407).

The archaic Ndebele words *idladla*, *inyuku*, and *gawula* are also popularly recognised in their S'ncamtho relexicalisations as compared to their old Ndebele meanings. For example, while *idladla* is a small hut in old Ndebele, S'ncamtho extended the meaning to cover any house.

6.4.3 Observations on changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho in the media and advertisements

Observations were also conducted on the use of S'ncamtho and other urban youth varieties in the media, internet and language used in public areas. The observations confirm that youth varieties are popular and now used in public language domains, although most people in this study still opine that these should not be used in public communication. A survey of the language used in internet online advertising and billboard advertising in Zimbabwean towns reveal that S'ncamtho and the Shona-based urban variety have a heavy presence especially in beer, beverage, computer and cell phone technology adverts. The observations also show that the conservative *Umthunywa* newspaper also uses S'ncamtho on some of its captions.

Umthunywa newspaper is strict on its language policy that excludes S'ncamtho and other slang forms. It is observed that even Kwaito and RnB artists who sing in S'ncamtho use standard Ndebele when they are interviewed in *Umthunywa* or at least the newspaper edits the language to Ndebele as shown in the examples below:

6.4.3a. *Umculo we-RnB uthuthuka ngamandla kuleli nanko phela omunye wabaculi laba uBanele Ncube usehwatshe idlalade elitshisayo njalo uthembisa ukuqhubekela phambili esenza izimanga kwezomculo ngenhloso yokujabulisa uzulu.*
'RnB music is developing fast in this country as one musician Banele Ncube has released a hot album and he promises to do more to please the public'. Available at <http://www.umthunywa.co.zw/?p=15047> [2017, May 23].

6.4.3b. *"Njengomculi ophila ngokucula ngiyancedisa njalo abaculi abatsha ngendlela ezechlukeneyo. Ekubancediseni lapha ngibancedisa ekukhipheni amadlalade abo ukuze labo bathuthuke kwezomculo njalo siphakamise umculo we-RnB," kuphetha uMaestro.*

'As a musician I also help upcoming musicians. I help them to release their albums so they develop in the music industry and raise RnB music, said Maestro' Available at <http://www.umthunywa.co.zw/?p=15047> [2017, May 23].

Youth varieties across Africa and the Americas are known to be actively used in popular culture that involves popular music. This has influenced attitude changes towards S'ncamtho. The reporter, who reports on entertainment, and interviews S'ncamtho-speaking Kwaito and RnB musicians, edits everything so that he writes in Ndebele although he is reporting on people who use S'ncamtho to record their music. The same reporter indicates in an interview that this is difficult as people who read his section of the newspaper would prefer he uses S'ncamtho when discussing Kwaito and other Hip Hop genres. However, the newspaper uses some S'ncamtho to get people's attention, especially in its headlines. The researcher observes some S'ncamtho in *Umthunywa* captions as exemplified below:

6.4.3c. *Watsha tsotsi: halala ngosuku lwezisebenzi.*

‘You are burning tsotsi: forward with workers day.’ Available at <http://www.umthunywa.co.zw/?p=15047> [2017, May 23].

6.4.3d. *Badla bayibayi*

‘They eat *bayibayi*/appear appear’. Available at <http://www.umthunywa.co.zw/?p=15047> [2017, May 30].

The captions above are instances of S'ncamtho use by the newspaper despite its internal policies that outlaw S'ncamtho, indicating change towards S'ncamtho tolerance. *Watsha tsotsi* is S'ncamtho and is used as a headline, *badla bayi bayi* is S'ncamtho for running away; and yet these instances are allowed by the editorial board.

It is also observed that S'ncamtho and the Shona based variety are used by companies to advertise their products online, in the media and on the linguistic landscape such as billboards and notice boards. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) define linguistic landscape as follows: ‘The language of public road signs, advertising billboard, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.’ The adult population in Bulawayo appears to be particular with the language and culture displayed in public adverts. For instance, a company known as Chicken Slice was in trouble over their advert on billboards which portrayed a mother in law getting roasted chicken from her son in law. While the advert is not in S'ncamtho, public opinion is that it violates Ndebele spellings and culture, particularly the respect and relationship taboos between a mother and son in law⁷⁰. Nevertheless, the researcher observes that urban youth varieties are dominant in advertising as they are less serious and enticing. One Fanta advert reads; ‘No to Seriousness’. Seriousness goes with standard forms and rules of purists but S'ncamtho is relaxed and good for advertising certain products. Some of the adverts that use urban youth varieties in Zimbabwe are given below:

6.4.3e. *Ndeipi!*⁷¹ Welcome to Alliance Media Zimbabwe. Available at <http://www.alliancemedia.com/countries/zimbabwe.html> [2017, May 16].

6.4.3f. *Khuluma 24/7*

‘speak 24/7/ non-stop’ (Observed on a Netone mobile phone billboard in Bulawayo).

6.4.3g. *Ziyawa kuEconet*

‘They are falling with Econet’ (Observed from an Econet SMS advert).

⁷⁰ Available: <http://www.chronicle.co.zw/outrage-over-chicken-slice-spelling-boob/> [2017, May 31].

⁷¹ This is Shona informal greeting which literally means “which one” common with Shona urban male youth in Zimbabwe.

6.4.3h. *Iyabhalansa*⁷²

‘It balances’ (Ingwebu opaque beer advert).

6.4.3i. *Chakachaya*⁷³*kuEconet*

‘It has hit at Econet’ (Observed from an Econet SMS advert).

6.4.3j. Cascade *Ndiyo ine yese*⁷⁴

‘Cascade has the whole story’ (observed on a Cascade billboard in Masvingo).

6.4.3k. *Zvirikufaya neMadison*

‘It is firing with Madison’ (observed on a Madison poster in Bulawayo).

6.4.3l. It’s *bhoo*⁷⁵ *neChibuku*

‘It is ok with Chibuku’ (Observed on a Chibuku radio advert).

Urban youth varieties are used to advertise in Zimbabwe and the researcher is unaware of any complaints on the inclusion of youth languages in adverts. The only complaints have come from violation of cultural taboos. The Ndebele appear to be more conservative as compared to the Shona in Zimbabwe, because there are more Shona based youth variety expressions on public adverts than Ndebele ones even in Bulawayo adverts. Shona appears to be less conservative as a dominant language in Zimbabwe, while Ndebele is conservative. Broadcasters confirm that the Shona youth variety has some slang adverts in voice, motion picture and print which are not translated into S'ncamtho, as Ndebele purists in broadcasting demand that the Shona youth variety adverts be translated into standard Ndebele not S'ncamtho.

6.4.4 Summary and conclusions on changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho

Ndebele is a conservative language and language use in professional environments is guided by policies that outlaw S'ncamtho. However, a look at education, religious and media practitioners indicates an attitude shift towards S'ncamtho usage. There are some teachers whose attitude is to accommodate popular S'ncamtho in the classroom but, they note that this should be monitored. Some Pentecostal pastors in urban areas canvass for a wholesale adoption of S'ncamtho in their churches. Media practitioners operate under strict policies against S'ncamtho, but the rules have been relaxed to accommodate youth programmes, and this is a sign of

⁷² S'ncamtho derived from the English word- *balance* meaning ‘it saves money to drink the opaque beer’.

⁷³ Shona informal language used to refer to plentiful things or an abundance of some commodity.

⁷⁴ Shona urban term to refer to a person or concept that is important compared to others of its kind.

⁷⁵ Urban-Shona term for ‘good’.

changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho acceptance. The ISN includes 14, lexis operating in S'ncamtho although their S'ncamtho meanings are not considered in some cases. The ISN does a commendable job by including these terms to represent youth social profiles and their spread into Ndebele vocabulary. However, there are some that are popular or even more popular than those included in the ISN which the editors left out, and there is a case to have them included. S'ncamtho now features in adverts although it is below the Shona youth variety and this indicates shifting attitudes towards accommodation of S'ncamtho.

6.5 Conclusion

Tests on S'ncamtho acceptance indicate that there are more people who are against its acceptance than those who think it should be accepted. Those who are against the acceptance of S'ncamtho opine that the variety promotes disrespect in children and creates confusion as multiple meanings can be given to one lexeme in the variety. Nurses use S'ncamtho euphemisms in their line of duty, but acknowledge that it is difficult to accept S'ncamtho wholesale as it is ephemeral. Teachers and media practitioners have strict rules that exclude S'ncamtho from their work, but they nevertheless use some S'ncamtho at work. Pentecostal churches in Bulawayo city have no problems with S'ncamtho acceptance. Rather, they view it as a way to lure youth and youthful energy to worship. However, orthodox churches are conservative when it concerns language and they do not condone S'ncamtho in their church services.

Observations on the usage of S'ncamtho show that while S'ncamtho is not encouraged in professions, it is used to a certain extent and this indicates changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho. Professionals use more S'ncamtho at work talking to workmates and they use less S'ncamtho when conversing with clients. While the media has policies against the use of S'ncamtho, there are some programmes and sections that deal with the youth and S'ncamtho is prevalent here. S'ncamtho is also present in advertising as evidenced by observations on billboards and other adverts. However, the Shona urban variety is more prominent than S'ncamtho in Zimbabwean adverts. This chapter answers the question on attitudes towards S'ncamtho and its impact on Ndebele. The next chapter is dedicated to conclusions and recommendations deriving from the analysis and discussion.

Chapter 7 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusions

The research uses three levels of data to address S'ncamtho metaphors and their spread. The three levels of data answer different questions and address the objectives set out at the beginning of the study. The first level data is analysed to identify popular themes in S'ncamtho metaphors and genres operating within S'ncamtho metaphor. At the first level data is analysed to answer questions on popular themes in urban youth varieties and the question of discernible genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho. The second level data is analysed to measure familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors amongst different Ndebele population aggregates. The second level data answers the main over-arching question that justifies the research on the impact of S'ncamtho metaphors on standard Ndebele. Second level data achieves the objective of testing for familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho metaphors. The third level data is analysed to evaluate attitudes towards S'ncamtho and to answer the question on population attitudes towards S'ncamtho metaphors and S'ncamtho the variety. Third level data also answers the question on the expanding domains of S'ncamtho usage. The data addresses the aims and objectives, and answers the research questions as discussed in the summary of conclusions below.

Data from male youth in the high density suburbs of Nkulumane, Makokoba, Pumula South and Godini taxi rank identify themes, constructions and genres in S'ncamtho metaphor. Interview and focus group discussions data from location male youth in Bulawayo confirms the name S'ncamtho for the Ndebele based urban variety. Other competing names are iSitsotsi (*tsotsi*/thug language) and iSijida (language of the gents). Ascription of a name to the variety is evidence to its established status and this could be a development towards language status for the sociolect.

The research confirms Hurst and Buthelezi's (2014) findings that sex and sexuality, music and partying, love and relationships, crime and the law are popular themes in youth varieties. However, the research finds that contrary to popular prejudices on S'ncamtho, crime is not the most popular theme. Instead, relationship inclined themes such as sex and sexuality, music and partying and love relationships are the most prevalent themes in S'ncamtho metaphors. The objective of identifying popular themes in youth varieties is fulfilled and the question on popular themes in youth talk is answered by this data. This thesis reveals that crime and vulgarity are not the most common themes in youth varieties and such a finding is important to society and

language policy makers at micro and macro levels. Most negative attitudes stem from the claim that youth varieties are criminal argots. This study has proved that the varieties are more concerned about social connectedness of people and their happiness, not crime.

The thematic analysis is followed by a linguistic analysis of the S'ncamtho metaphors and the linguistic analysis identifies lexical, phrasal and sentence S'ncamtho metaphors. This finding partly answers the question on the availability of clearly discernible genres of metaphor in youth varieties. The linguistic analysis refutes the language status of African Youth Languages such as S'ncamtho argued for by Kiessling and Mous (2004) and confirms that S'ncamtho is in fact more of a lexicon (Hurst, 2008), and that it uses Ndebele as a matrix language, just as Sheng uses Swahili as a matrix language (Momanyi, 2009). There are more lexical metaphors in S'ncamtho than phrasal and sentence metaphors, confirming previous literature which indicates that lexicalisation is a common strategy in youth varieties. Morphological hybridisation and semantic manipulations are responsible for the creation of many S'ncamtho metaphors. This is also achieved through borrowing from English and then code-mixing Ndebele affixes on English lexes.

The linguistic analysis is followed by a metaphor genre characterisation of the data. The metaphor analysis identifies discernible genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho - these are euphemisms, proverbs, sayings, aphorisms and argot. Sex and sexuality are popular themes in S'ncamtho metaphors, yet they are tabooed themes and this is why there exists large numbers of euphemistic metaphors in S'ncamtho. S'ncamtho is rich in taboo avoidance vocabulary and this finding runs contrary to popular claims that youth varieties are vulgar. The abundance of taboo avoidance words, help in classifying S'ncamtho as a sociolect. Taboo vocabulary constitutes taboo avoidance within the social dialect. The use of S'ncamtho taboo avoidance vocabulary by older Ndebele persons is an important finding on the objective of addressing its impact on Ndebele, as this confirms that youth varieties are in fact respectful not arrogant and vulgar. The implications of taboo avoidance vocabulary within S'ncamtho are that the variety can be adopted to operate in domains that utilise taboo avoidance such as reproductive health programmes and biological sciences in schools.

While S'ncamtho has sayings and proverbs, sayings are more common, and shorter sayings classified as aphorisms are the most common in the proverb category. There is less argot compared to other metaphor genres and this emphasises that S'ncamtho is not a slang designed to be a secret language. There is need for youth language scholarship in Africa to think about ways of classifying youth varieties away from slang, argot and other negative labels. The research findings confirm that the links to criminal origins of youth varieties can be fallacious. However, this fallacy has created the majority of negative attitudes towards youth

varieties. This study is an important step towards correcting these negative perceptions that are based on erroneous claims.

Thirty metaphors from the four genres are used for idiom familiarity and usage tests in the following sites- Pumula North (urban high density suburb), Hillside (urban low density suburb), Maphisa, Lower Gwelo and Solusi (peri-urban areas), Inyathi, Brunapeg and Donsa (rural areas). The test data is analysed to determine the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors to regions outside urban high density male youth. The tests are conducted and the analysis answers the question on the regional spread of S'ncamtho and its spread along population dynamics of age, sex and class.

The analysis finds that urban high density male youth are familiar with and use far more S'ncamtho metaphors than all Ndebele age cohorts in other areas. Males know more and indicate that they use more S'ncamtho metaphors compared to females. Adult rural females have the lowest scores. Even among professional respondents, males have higher scores than females. The research also confirms that females do not use all the S'ncamtho metaphors they know because they are less active in the social contexts where S'ncamtho is used and social norms limit their usage of S'ncamtho. This finding is in keeping with the proposition in chapter 1 which proposes that males use more S'ncamtho than females, and also agrees with previous research which claims that these varieties are used more by males.

Males have global familiarity and usage percentages of above 50%, yet females are slightly above 50% on familiarity and 27% on usage. The implications of this finding are that S'ncamtho cannot be regarded as a language that can replace Ndebele. The familiarity figures indicate that young women know enough S'ncamtho to participate in youth programmes that utilise S'ncamtho. However, they may have stigma and incentive challenges in using the variety. The gender dynamics in S'ncamtho are significant, such that it cannot be promoted and advocated for its use and rights of its speakers, but it can be accepted in domains where it has established itself such as in music and the media. While some people may claim that S'ncamtho excludes women so it should not be promoted, this research proposes that women are excluded from domains that utilise S'ncamtho such as popular music and therefore have less incentive to use S'ncamtho even though they know it. Literature has claimed that some females are part of the community of practice in youth varieties and this is confirmed by the data. Female youth in one peri-urban area have higher familiarity scores than male youth indicating that S'ncamtho impacts the female population as well.

One of the sub-questions of the research is on how S'ncamtho impacts age dynamics in its spread and usage? This question is answered by the data and in keeping with the moniker “youth language”, youths are familiar with and they use more S'ncamtho than adults. The age cohort 15-37 years has the highest familiarity and use compared to those above this age bracket. The global totals for youth familiarity and usage are 66% and 51% respectively, while the adult totals are 50% and 28% respectively. In the combined totals for female youth, there is 59% familiarity and 42% usage, an indication that the female scores are affected by very low scores in the adult female bracket. The implications for this data are that youth, both male and female, are on the average familiar with and use S'ncamtho. The increased spread of S'ncamtho has been seen to impact young Ndebele females and they are increasingly becoming an important focus group for research on youth varieties. One point of interest relating to age established by this research is the fact that there are some older S'ncamtho metaphors in which adults score higher than the youth in some cases. This implies that people grow up with S'ncamtho and some S'ncamtho metaphors have been in use across generations.

The other demographic variable that is addressed by the data in keeping with the objective of evaluating the impact of S'ncamtho on various social groups in Ndebele society is the spread along class lines. Youth varieties have been characterised by previous literature as practices of the less affluent urban male youth and this is confirmed in the data, as youth from affluent suburban areas have scores lower than township and peri-urban scores. The youth in affluent suburbs attend English medium schools, also called “A” schools in Zimbabwe, and these use an English-based youth variety. An interesting finding, however, is that there is not much difference between adults from the affluent areas and those from the townships. This development raises questions regarding the linguistic impact when people grow up with the youth variety, and this furthermore has implications for the categorisation of youth varieties as youth languages. The research highlights that the majority of parents now living in affluent suburbs grew up in the townships during the colonial era in Zimbabwe and only bought the houses after independence in 1980, when the racial divide was removed.

The research also establishes that S'ncamtho familiarity and usage is affected by competing youth varieties as is the case in Hillside and Lower Gwelo, where the English-based and Shona-based youth varieties also operate respectively. Youth from affluent suburbs attend “A” schools and they use more English than Ndebele, and as a result they score almost similar scores with rural youth. Another of the competing varieties is established as iScamtho from Johannesburg, because many of the youth, especially males, have worked in Johannesburg at some point in their lives. The research also establishes that females do not cross in large numbers to Johannesburg compared to males and this could be another reason why males have higher scores, as the majority of S'ncamtho is borrowed from the Zulu-based iScamtho.

The study establishes that professionals who are part of the samples for the data exhibit more familiarity with S'ncamtho compared to non-professionals in the key informants samples. This finding builds on to the answer on how S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele and also addresses the increasing domains of use for S'ncamtho. Professionals are more exposed to the internet, social media, media and social gatherings, and this may be an advantage they have over the non professionals as far as S'ncamtho knowledge is concerned. This finding also confirms that S'ncamtho operates in domains such as the internet, media, social media and social gatherings such as meetings and weddings.

With regard to professionals again, there is not much difference between rural and urban familiarity scores. Rural teachers, nurses and pastors are familiar with as much S'ncamtho as their urban counterparts and this can be attributed to the fact that professionals in Zimbabwe frequent urban centres, making them key agents in the spread of S'ncamtho to rural and peri-urban areas. Banks and administrative offices for professionals are found in urban centres in Zimbabwe and for that reason, professionals frequent Bulawayo and are exposed to more S'ncamtho in the process. The broadcasters operate in Bulawayo urban and they also have familiarity scores that are very high, akin to both urban and rural professionals. High usage scores are established among broadcasters on youth programmes, male nurses and urban Pentecostal pastors. These professionals deal directly with the youth, so they use the youth variety, and in this way S'ncamtho impacts on Ndebele in youth-related professional domains.

The research also finds that improved transport and communication networks increase the spread of S'ncamtho from urban high density male youth areas. A rural area such as Donsa, which has the worst transport and connectivity networks generally, has the lowest figures on familiarity. And yet they are not much lower than the figures for peri-urban areas. Previous literature and the propositions for this study locate the spread of S'ncamtho to rural areas in improved communication networks. The data confirms this trend. The spread of S'ncamtho to rural areas is also established in the data answering the question on the spread of S'ncamtho. S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele populations in the rural areas. However, the data on additional metaphors from rural respondents introduces the possibility of sub-varieties of S'ncamtho as has been established for Sheng (Kioko 2015). Rural samples give some additional S'ncamtho metaphors that are characteristically rural, an indication that there are rural and urban S'ncamtho metaphors. This however, does not mean there exists a clear distinction so far between urban and rural S'ncamtho.

There are some metaphor genres that are established to be more popular than others. Individual metaphors

that have established themselves as common Ndebele lexicon confirm Winkler's (2007) claim that some slang terms become established and end up being part of the matrix language lexicon. General sayings are the most popular S'ncamtho metaphors, followed by euphemisms; however, euphemisms are popular with the youth. The fact that general sayings are more popular than euphemisms is important for the classification of S'ncamtho as a social dialect of Ndebele. Had it been dominated by euphemisms, those claiming for register status might classify it as a *hlonipha* register. There are metaphors that score 100% on familiarity on global totals across age, sex, class, profession and region and there could be more of such common S'ncamtho metaphors which need to be tested and possibly standardised into Ndebele lexicon to avoid inconsistencies between written and spoken Ndebele.

Responses to questionnaires, focus group discussions and interview data on attitudes towards S'ncamtho acceptance indicate that far more people, especially adults, are against S'ncamtho acceptance compared to those who say yes to it. Youth accept S'ncamtho more than adults. All adult females in the data say no to S'ncamtho acceptance. Males have more acceptances than females. In the key informant data, 71% are against S'ncamtho acceptance and 29% are for its acceptance. In the professional group, 64% are against S'ncamtho acceptance and 36% are for its acceptance.

One of the objectives of the research is to evaluate attitudes towards S'ncamtho acceptance and the research establishes that there are untested claims that create both positive and negative attitudes towards S'ncamtho. The main themes that create negative attitudes towards S'ncamtho are the claims that it is linked to criminality, that it is vulgar, and that it is a secret code. The implications of these claims are evident on the lower usage scores as people, especially females and adults associate the use of the variety with the criminal and vulgar stigma. The effects of negative prejudices on youth varieties have not been tested and there is need for research on these as they directly affect scholarship on the classification and spread of youth varieties. The perception of S'ncamtho and other youth varieties as criminal argots has created suspicions and misgivings when it comes to S'ncamtho acceptance. The majority who are against S'ncamtho acceptance associate it with slang, criminality, lack of respect, ambiguity, corrupting Ndebele language and affecting the learning of Ndebele in schools.

Those who think it should be given a chance believe the variety helps in avoiding taboo, is an inter-language between Ndebele and English, enabling easy comprehension and translation, and that it is a modern language. This research confirms that S'ncamtho euphemisms are good for taboo avoidance in vernacular and standard Ndebele, and that it is one of the elements that modernises Ndebele. This research has

established that S'ncamtho is not a criminal argot and that it is not vulgar. In fact it has been proven to be respectful through data analysis and this contradicts the reasons given for the rejection of S'ncamtho in Ndebele. The evaluation of expanding domains of use indicates that S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele and Ndebele is benefiting from S'ncamtho metaphors.

An analysis of observations of S'ncamtho in use indicates that there are changing attitudes towards S'ncamtho within the Ndebele population and business environment. S'ncamtho is used by nurses, teachers, pastors and media practitioners and they use it at times in violation of language policies that outlaw S'ncamtho. The ZBC for example chooses to conveniently ignore S'ncamtho used on youth programmes and some Pentecostal pastors intentionally use S'ncamtho to minister to their youthful congregants. The Ndebele dictionary recognises S'ncamtho metaphors although these are not well represented in the dictionary. The variety is present on the linguistic landscape through adverts. All this shows that more young men are beginning to disassociate S'ncamtho from criminality and slowly accept it. This could spread to females and adults. The Shona-based urban youth variety is used more than S'ncamtho on adverts because of an Ndebele purist agenda as espoused by Ncube (2005). Adults are against activist efforts that seek to market S'ncamtho and this has created suspicion towards any suggestions of S'ncamtho accommodation. This research is aligned with the idea that there should not be advocacy for S'ncamtho but it should operate like other Ndebele dialects.

This study is important for sociolinguistic research on youth varieties as it addresses the main vocabulary element of youth varieties which is metaphor. The characterisation of metaphor according to themes and genres reveals that the most popular themes in youth varieties are not related to crime and vulgarity. This is important for the characterisation of youth languages as sociolects and/or languages, rather than slang or argot. The research also establishes that there are clearly discernible genres of metaphor in youth varieties and such a characterisation is important for the classification of youth varieties as dialects, which should exhibit rules that systematically order elements within them. The study is also important in the evaluation of the impact of youth languages in Africa as it introduces quantitative and qualitative idiom testing as methods in youth language research.

While previous research has indicated that youth styles and class attract peers to youth varieties, this study introduces the social psychology framework in the measurement of the influence of youth styles and iconography on the spread of youth varieties. S'ncamtho is used more by young males, followed by young females. This finding is important for research on the functions of S'ncamtho especially in the media and

other domains of use. Those who are to make decisions on the use of S'ncamtho, will benefit from the findings on the spread and popularity of S'ncamtho. The research argues for sociolect status for youth varieties. This creates a bridge between debates on the classification of youth varieties, as labelling them as slang and ephemeral implies that they are vocabularies which they are not.

This study is one of a number of growing approaches to rural youth varieties and has established that youth language in rural areas operates through spread from urban centres and through rural innovations. An untested prejudice on youth language and criminality affects acceptance of these varieties and this could change if the perceptions are corrected. The research establishes that S'ncamtho is impacting Ndebele and there is need to further evaluate its impact. There could be a need for some domains of language usage to revise their language policies to accommodate S'ncamtho for the benefit of the youth.

7.2 Recommendations

This research set out to identify, characterise and measure the spread of S'ncamtho metaphors and evaluate attitudes towards S'ncamtho. On the characterisation of S'ncamtho metaphors, the research finds that people still associate S'ncamtho with criminality, yet the criminality theme is not very popular in S'ncamtho. The gap for further research in thematic characterisation involves reviewing S'ncamtho and criminality. Such research will be important even in dealing with attitudes towards S'ncamtho, as negative attitudes stem from criminal perceptions of S'ncamtho.

Analysis of data on familiarity and usage of S'ncamtho indicates big differences between familiarity and usage, especially among females. As stated in the introduction, the following recommendations for language policy and planning will be made: there is need for further inquiry into the reluctance by Ndebele speakers to use the S'ncamtho they know. Such an inquiry will benefit language research and planning. The research also exposes inconsistencies in language policy application at media houses and professions. There is need for needs analysis research aimed at policy reviews regarding S'ncamtho. The needs analysis research should include pragmatic lexicographic research to standardise S'ncamtho metaphors that have established themselves in Ndebele lexicon. This will provide a legal basis for use of standardised S'ncamtho to avoid controversies, for example in the education sector.

There has been much research on multilingualism and its effects on languages and societies and this research

identifies that there are sites in which more than one youth language operates. There is a need for research into the effects of multiple youth varieties on populations exposed to them. In the data analysis, there are instances whereby S'ncamtho shares linguistic space with English-based and Shona-based youth varieties. In these areas, S'ncamtho scores are low. There is need for further inquiry into the multilingual practices in youth varieties. The Shona-based youth variety is more prominent in adverts compared to S'ncamtho, and there could be social dynamics that create this situation. There is a need for a comparative study on Zimbabwean youth varieties. This research highlights that there are both negative and positive attitudes towards S'ncamtho, and researchers ought to investigate empirically the motivations for positive and negative perceptions of youth varieties. Further research should also focus on the gender disparity in the attitudes towards S'ncamtho and other youth varieties.

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Appendices

Appendix A- Questionnaire for Bulawayo male youth to collect S'ncamtho metaphors

Dear Respondent

My name is Sambulo Ndlovu, a student with the University of Cape Town. I am doing a research on youth languages for my studies and the title of my study is; '**A comparative analysis of metaphorical expressions used by rural and urban Ndebele speakers: the contribution of S'ncamtho**'. May you kindly contribute to the study by answering the questions; your views will assist the researcher to generate arguments for the research. S'ncamtho is the Ndebele based “tsotsi” language. *Please note that your identity and the answers you give are strictly confidential. I will use the information for academic purposes only. Please fill in the questionnaire and give it back to me after filling it, please take your time I will wait for you.*

Section A-Demographic data

1. Age 3. Residential- high density ☐ low density ☐ 4. Name of residential area..... 5. Occupation..... 6. Level of education..... 7. Languages spoken.....

Section B- S'ncamtho/Ndebele tsotsitaal metaphors

You can answer directly after the question or on a separate paper.

1. Do you think S'ncamtho has metaphors and euphemistic expressions?.....
2. Give S'ncamtho expressions you know in the areas of: sex and sexuality, reproductive health, prostitution, girl/boyfriends, love affairs, excretion/toilet, crime, death, religion, sickness/HIV, trouble, money, and fear
.....
Give S'ncamtho terms for; friend, party, music, beer/drunkenness, happiness/enjoyment, cars, parents, work, school.....
3. Give any Ndebele sayings/proverbs that have been adapted and transformed into S'ncamtho.....
4. Give new S'ncamtho proverbs, sayings or euphemisms you know.....

Thank you

Appendix B- Questionnaire for familiarity testing, usage, and attitudes to be used for both key informants and the group of Ndebele teachers, broadcasters, health workers, and church leaders

Dear Respondent

My name is Sambulo Ndlovu, a student with the University of Cape Town. I am researching on youth languages and the title of my research is; '**A comparative analysis of metaphorical expressions used by rural and urban Ndebele speakers: the contribution of S'ncamtho**'. May you kindly contribute to the study by filling in this questionnaire; your views will assist the researcher to generate arguments for the research. S'ncamtho is the Ndebele based "tsotsi" language. *Please note that your identity and the answers you give are strictly confidential. I will use the information for academic purposes only. Please take your time I will collect the questionnaire when you are done filling it.*

Section A-Demographic data

1. Sex M ☐ F ☐ 2. Age 3. Residence-urban-high density /low density/peri-urban/rural, 4. Residential area name..... 5. Occupation..... 6. Level of education..... 7. Languages spoken.....

Section B- Familiarity and usage testing on S'ncamtho euphemistic metaphors

No	S'ncamtho euphemism	Ndebele/English translation	Do you use it?	
B1	ukutshaya inyawo		Yes	No
B2	i-ake			
B3	imanyuwa			
B4	ukukhetsha			
B5	ukuhotsha			
B6	amasidi (cd)			
B7	irobothi elibomvu			
B8	ukulahla			
B9	amajusikhadi			
B10	ukunokha			
B11	ohata			
B12	ukuklara			
B13	i-18			
B14	umzokulu			

Section C- Familiarity and usage testing on S'ncamtho proverbs/sayings

No	S'ncamtho proverb	Familiarity		Do you use it?	
C1	ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning	Yes	No	Yes	No
C2	amapatapata awela abangela mazwane				
C3	icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo				
C4	ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela				

C5	ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njenge sepa				
C6	ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka				

Section D- Familiarity and usage testing on S'ncamtho sayings

No	S'ncamtho saying	Ndebele/English translation	Do you use it?	
D1	ukuzifonela		Yes	No
D2	ukudlisepa			
D3	ukugeleza			
D4	ukungen'amanzi			
D5	ziyakhipha			
D6	nja yami			
D7	ukutshayatshaya			
D8	ukufaka ilayini			
D9	ukuyilahla			
D10	ukutshaya theninothi			

Section E- Attitudes towards S'ncamtho

1. In your opinion is S'ncamtho impacting Ndebele positively or negatively and why, and should the community accept S'ncamtho influence?.....
2. Using numbers indicate the S'ncamtho metaphors that are operating in formal Ndebele usage especially in your area of work.....
3. Give any S'ncamtho metaphor you know not listed above

Thank you for your time

Appendix B- Ndebele version-imibuzo kumphakathi wesiNdebele emadolobheni, emagrotiphoyinti kanye lasemakhaya

Kuwe M'phenduli

Igama lami ngingu Sambulo Ndlovu, umfundi kwiNyuvasi yaseKapa. Ngicubungula ngokusetshenziswa kwamazwi ahlakanipjileyo esitsotsi sabontanga emadolobheni lasemakhaya. Ngicela uphathise loluncwaningo ngokugcwalisa ezikheleni kumibuzo engezansi. Khululeka ngoba ibizo lakho ngeke laziwe njalo lokhu kuzasetshenziswa kucwaningo lolu kuphela.

Isigaba A-Ulwazi ngoMphenduli

☐ ☐

2. Ubulili- M F 2. Iminyaka.....3. Uhlala elokitshini/emasabhabha/egrotiphoyinti/emakhaya.. 4. Ibizo lendawo ohlala khona..... 5. Usebenzani nxa usebenza?..... 6. Wafunda wacina ngaphi?.....7. Ukhuluma ziphi indimi?.....

Isigaba B- ulwazi lokusetshenziswa kokuhlonipha kwesiTsotsi- okulo yebo/hatshi faka u-X- kovumelana lakho

No	Ukuhlonipha kwesiTsotsi	Kutshoni ngesiNdebele kumbe ngesiNgisi	Uyawasebenzisa na?	
B1	ukutshaya inyawo		Yebo	Hatshi
B2	i-ake			
B3	imanyuwa			
B4	Ukukhetsha			
B5	Ukuhotsha			
B6	amasidi (cd)			
B7	irobothi elibomvu			
B8	Ukulahla			
B9	Amajusikhadi			
B10	ukunokha			
B11	Ohata			
B12	Ukuklara			
B13	i-18			
B14	umzukulu			

Isigaba C- ulwazi lokusetshenziswa kwezaga/zitsho zesiTsotsi-Faka u-X- kovumelana lakho

No	Izaga zesiTsotsi	Uyasazi na?		Uyasisebenzisa na?	
C1	ukwanda kwaliwa yifamily planning	Yebo	Hatshi	Yebo	Hatshi
C2	amapatapata awela abangela mazwane				
C3	icolgate kasiyoyodwa egcina amazinyo				
C4	ukusebenza ukhala njengekhandlela				
C5	ukungagcinwa ngumsebenzi njenge sepa				
C6	ukubarafu njengombheda wamaplanka				

Isigaba D- ulwazi lokusetshenziswa kwamazwi ahlakaniphileyo esiTsotsi-okulo yebo/hatshi faka u-X- kovumelana lakho

No	Amazwi esiTsotsi	Atshoni ngesiNdebele kumbe ngesiNgisi?	Uyawasebenzisa na?	
D1	ukuzifonela		Yebo	Hatshi
D2	ukudlisepa			
D3	ukugeleza			
D4	ukungen'amanzi			
D5	ziyakhipha			
D6	nja yami			
D7	ukutshayathaya			
D8	ukufaka ilayini			

D9	ukuyilahla			
D10	ukutshaya theninothi			

Isigaba E- imizwa lemibono ngesiTsitsi

4. Ngokubona kwakho isiTsotsi siyanonisa kumbe siyangcolisa isiNdebele, njalo umphakathi kumele usamukele na?.....
5. Usebenzisa inombolo loba amazwi esiTsotsi kowaphendulileyo asebenza esiNdebeleni lamuhla.....
6. Phana amanye amazwi ahlakaniphileyo esiTsotsi owaziyo angalotshwanga lapha.....

Ngiyabonga ngesikhathi sakho

Appendix C- Semi structured interview outline for township male youth for collection and evaluation of S'ncamtho metaphors.

Interview guidelines

Each interview to be between 20 minutes and 40 minutes

1. Background

Here questions should elicit information on age, education and work background (the work background should include information on whether the respondent has worked in Johannesburg before), whether they speak slang and what do they call it, the languages they speak, whether they have been to Johannesburg, whether they have relatives in Johannesburg.

2. Themes in youth languages

Here the questions should elicit information on the common activities the respondent does, types of friends he has and what they usually talk about, the questions on the topic should guide the respondent to talk about registers such as euphemisms and parties together with the type of music they like and where they access it.

3. Community of practice and spread

Here the questions should elicit information on who uses S'ncamtho with the respondent? This should include the place for example, street corner, taxi rank, home. Questions here should also elicit information on who and where the respondent thinks S'ncamtho is used this should include questions on their use of S'ncamtho with parents, girls, girlfriends, on radio, social media. They should also state whether they think other groups such as youth from affluent suburbs, girls, and rural people use S'ncamtho?

4. S'ncamtho metaphor collection and verification

Here questions should be based on the list of S'ncamtho metaphors brought along by the interviewer and the interviewee should confirm through giving meanings and verifying that they are indeed S'ncamtho. The questions should also elicit more S'ncamtho metaphors from the interviewee.

Appendix D- semi structured interview outline for evaluation of usage of S'ncamtho metaphors by professionals.

Interview guidelines

Each interview to be between 30 minutes and 50 minutes

1. Background

Here questions should elicit information on the age, level of education, work experience, ethnicity, awareness of S'ncamtho, history of residential location.

2. Language policy and usage

Here questions should elicit information on whether there is a language policy in the company or profession, the language the person uses with workmates, clients and work superiors, whether S'ncamtho is allowed or used in the profession. They should give information on the S'ncamtho metaphors they use in their work here the interviewer can give some S'ncamtho

metaphors and the interviewee can confirm usage and familiarity. The person should also indicate whether they feel there is need for S'ncamtho to be allowed in their line of work and what S'ncamtho could help?

3. Attitudes and spread

Here questions should elicit information on the professional's feelings and emotions on the use of S'ncamtho and the reasons for the attitudes. They should give their feelings on the use of S'ncamtho in domains such as education, media, health services, churches and public offices. They should comment of the spread of S'ncamtho to adults, females and rural areas and on the use of S'ncamtho in cyber space.